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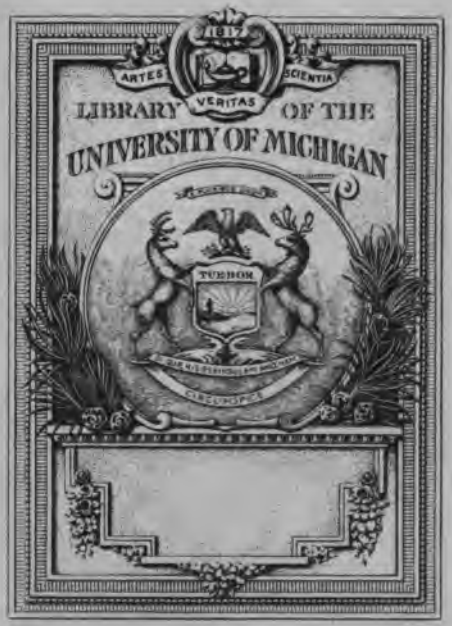
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT,

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LATE WAR;

AND OF THE

THIRTEEN COLONIES,

FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THAT PERIOD.

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By WILLIAM GORDON, D.D.

QUID VERUM **** CURO, ET ROGO, ET OMNIS IN HOC SUM.
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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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RISE, PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION

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LETTER I.

Rotterdam, Dec. 30, 1780.

FRIEND GORDON,

MY former letter mentioned the ſailing of a large Spaniſh fleet under Don Joſeph Solano. Capt. Mann of the Cerberus frigate, falling in with it, and rightly judging of its deſtination, from the courſe it ſteered and other circumſtances, conſidered with great propriety, that the public good and the importance of the object ſhould ſupply the defect of particular orders, and that the limited deſign of his cruiſe could not compare with the immediate application of the knowledge he had accidentally acquired. The captain therefore inſtantly proceeded to the Weſt Indies, to communicate the intelligence to Sir George Rodney, then at Barbadoes. Upon receiving it, Sir George uſed the utmoſt diligence in putting to ſea, in order to intercept the Spaniſh fleet and convoy before they could join the French, then in Fort Royal bay Martinico. But his views were 1780.

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1780. fruſtrated through the precaution of the Spaniſh admiral. Don Solano, apprehenſive though not informed of the danger, inſtead of proceeding to Fort Royal bay, prudently ſtopped ſhort on his approach to the neareſt iſlands; and diſpatched a frigate to inform count de Guichen of his ſituation, and to require a ſpeedy junction of the fleets where he then was. The French commander ſailed directly, with 18 ſhips of the line, and
June 10. keeping cloſe to leeward of the iſlands, joined the Spaniards under Dominique.

The combined fleets amounted to 36 ſail of the line, which with their united land forces, formed ſuch an apparent ſuperiority, as nothing in thoſe ſeas or iſlands ſeemed capable of reſiſting. But the Spaniſh troops being too much crowded on board their tranſports, together with the length of the voyage, the change of climate and diet, and other circumſtances, a moſt mortal and contagious diſorder was generated, which firſt infecting their own ſeamen, at length ſpread, though not entirely with ſo fatal an effect, through the French fleet and land forces. Beſide the great mortality on the paſſage, the Spaniards landed no leſs than 1200 ſick on their firſt arrival at Dominique, and a much greater number afterward at Guadaloupe and Martinico. Thus the ſpirit of enterpriſe was damped, and ſome part of the means taken away. Still the combined forces had a ſufficient ſuperiority to enable them to proceed to offenſive operations with the proſpect of ſucceſs. Sir George Rodney on the junction of the enemies fleets retired to St. Lucie, where he was equally well ſituated, either for obſerving their motions and counteracting, according to his ability, their deſigns on the other iſlands;

or for ſelf-defence ſhould they venture upon an attack. 1780.
But they remained totally inactive in Fort Royal bay till
the 5th of July, when they put to ſea in the night, with- July
out making ſignals or ſhowing lights. Had they im- 5.
proved their opportunity, Jamaica muſt undoubtedly
have fallen; but a miſunderſtanding between the Spa-
niſh and French admirals, rendered their junction and
ſuperiority of little importance. Count de Guichen ac-
companied Don Solano as far as St. Domingo, and
then left the Spaniſh fleet to proceed ſingly to the Ha-
vannah, while he with the French put in at Cape Fran-
çois. Here he remained till a large convoy was col-
lected from the French iſlands, with which he proceeded
directly for Europe. Sir George Rodney, entertaining
a miſtaken apprehenſion either from his own conjecture
or from information, that de Guichen was bound to
North America in order to join adm. Ternay at Rhode
Iſland, had no ſooner received certain intelligence of his
departure from Cape François; than he ſailed himſelf
with eleven capital ſhips and four frigates for New York.

The combined fleets in the European ſeas have been
more ſucceſsful. A rich and conſiderable convoy for
the Eaſt and Weſt Indies ſailed from Portſmouth in the
latter end of July, under the conduct of capt. Moutray
of the Ramillies and two frigates: the whole were in-
tercepted on the 9th of Auguſt by the combined fleets Aug.
under Don Louis de Cordova. The convoy included, 9.
beſide the merchantmen, eighteen victuallers, ſtoreſhips
and tranſports, deſtined for the ſervice in the Weſt In-
dies. Five Eaſt Indiamen made a part of it, and to-
gether with arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery,
conveyed a large quantity of naval ſtores, for the ſupply

1780. of the Britiſh ſquadron in that quarter. The Eaſt India and fifty Weſt India ſhips, including thoſe upon governmental account, were taken. The Ramillies, with the frigates, and a few Weſt India ſhips eſcaped. Such a prize never before entered the harbour of Cadiz. A Britiſh fleet of near 60 ſhips led captive by a Spaniſh ſquadron, was extremely flattering to a people, to whom naval captures from ſuch an enemy were an unuſual ſpectacle. The appearance of the numerous priſoners rendered the triumph more complete, and made the ſight ſtill more ſingular. They conſiſted of 1250 ſeamen, officers included; of 1255 ſoldiers, and 74 officers; of 149 women; and of 137 paſſengers of both ſexes, among whom were ſome married and unmarried ladies of condition. The whole amounted to 2865 perſons. The value of the ſaleable commodities was great, but the loſs of the military and naval ſupplies was much more conſiderable, as they could not be replaced in time. Advantageous purchaſes will undoubtedly be made out of this capture for the ſervice of the American army.

The ſtrong appearances of an approaching ſtorm, with which adminiſtration was threatened, having ſubſided; and every thing going on ſmoothly and proſperouſly, there was reaſon to expect that elections for a new parliament would go greatly in favor of the court. A diſſolution of the preſent was therefore determined upon; but the deſign was kept a profound ſecret. When the proclamation for the diſſolving of it appeared, it wrought like a thunder clap, with reſpect to ſuddenneſs and ſurpriſe, on thoſe who were unacquainted with the deſign. A new prorogation had taken place within a

Sept. 1.

few

few days, which ſerved to render the ſtroke ſtill more unexpected. The elections went much in favor of the court. One hundred and thirteen new repreſentatives obtained ſeats in parliament. 1780.

Mr. Laurens was taken on his way from congreſs to Holland, in the beginning of September, on the banks of Newfoundland. A package of papers, when thrown overboard, not ſinking ſuddenly, was ſaved by the boldneſs and dexterity of a Britiſh ſailor, and moſt of them were recovered from the effects of the water. On his arrival in England, he was committed upon a charge of high treaſon, as a ſtate priſoner to the Tower, under an order ſigned by the three ſecretaries of ſtate. He claimed the privileges of his public character, as a commiſſioner from the United States of America; and declined anſwering any queſtions whoſe tendency he could not immediately perceive, ſo that little information was obtained from him. But by the medium of his papers the adminiſtration came to the knowledge of the eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland. The papers relating to this buſineſs were delivered about the beginning of November to the prince of Orange, who on the 5th laid them before the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland. On the 10th Sir Joſeph Yorke preſented to the States General a memorial concerning them. He demanded in the name of the king, his maſter, not only a formal diſavowal of [what was pronounced] ſo irregular a conduct, as that which was charged upon the ſtates of Amſterdam, of carrying on a long clandeſtine correſpondence with the American rebels, and of giving inſtructions and powers for entering into a treaty with thoſe rebels; but alſo in- Oct. 6.

1780. fiſted on a ſpeedy ſatisfaction, and the puniſhment of the penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices. This conduct was declared to be no leſs contrary to the moſt ſacred engagements of their high mightineſſes, than repugnant to the Dutch conſtitution.

The reference to ſuch engagements ſeems to have been ill timed, as the royal order of the 17th of April laſt had declared Holland to be on the footing of other neutral powers; and had diſannulled the efficacy of ſuch engagements for the preſent, by ſuſpending till further orders all the particular ſtipulations reſpecting the ſubjects of the States General, contained in the ſeveral treaties then ſubſiſting. The States General diſavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amſterdam, and engaged to proſecute the penſionary *according to the laws of the country*. This not being deemed ſatisfactory, Sir Joſeph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and on the 20th of December, a manifeſto againſt the Dutch was publiſhed in a London Gazette Extraordinary, followed by an order of council—"That general repriſals be granted againſt the ſhips, goods and ſubjects of the States General." A few days before the publication, the States General had acceded to the confederation of the armed neutrality.

On Tueſday October the 3d, Jamaica was viſited with a complicated calamity. A moſt extraordinary ſwell of the ſea, ten feet higher than its common level, ſucceeded by an earthquake and hurricane, brought dreadful deſtruction on particular parts of the iſland. Savannah La Mar, a conſiderable trading town on the ſouth ſide of the iſland in Weſtmoreland pariſh, was totally deſtroyed, by the ſea's ſuddenly burſting through

all

all bounds and ſurmounting all obſtacles. Every thing 1780.
was ſo completely ſwept away upon its retreat, as not to leave the ſmalleſt veſtige of man, beaſt or habitation behind. About 200 perſons of all colours, periſhed by this terrible irruption. The ſea flowed up half a mile beyond its uſual fixed limits. This was the prelude to the ſucceeding earthquake and hurricane. The damage in the pariſh of Weſtmoreland only, amounted to near 700,000l. ſterling. In that of Hanover, one fourth part of the abſolute property is ſaid to be loſt for ever. The merchants of Kingſton generouſly ſent down for the immediate relief of the unhappy ſufferers, 10,000l. value in different kinds of proviſion, clothing and other articles.

A yet more tremendous hurricane began at Barbadoes Oct.
in the morning, and continued with little intermiſſion 10.
about 48 hours. The ſhips were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of a moſt outrageous ſea. It prevailed chiefly in the night; and Bridge Town, the capital, was nearly levelled with the earth. The inhabitants who eſcaped, anxiouſly waited the break of day, flattering themſelves that with the light they ſhould ſee a ceſſation of the ſtorm. But the ſtrongeſt colours cannot paint the miſeries they were under. The ground was covered with the mangled bodies of their friends and relations. Reputable families wandered through the ruins in ſearch of food and ſhelter. Mean while there was a continual ſcene of rapine and confuſion. The negroes, inſtead of attempting to ſave the effects of the unhappy ſufferers, were plundering every part of the town. The tempeſt was but little abated. The day ſerved but to exhibit the moſt melan-

1780. choly proſpect. The devaſtation on all ſides was terrible—not a building ſtanding—the trees, if not torn up by the roots, ſtripped of their leaves and branches—the moſt luxuriant ſpring changed in one night to the dreadieſt winter—the few public buildings, notwithſtanding their ſtrength, fallen in the general wreck. The loſs of human lives was great even among the whites; but including the blacks was eſtimated at ſome thouſands. To increaſe the calamity, moſt of the living ſtock on the iſland, particularly of the horned cattle, periſhed. An extraordinary inſtance of the united force of the winds and waves was apparent upon this occaſion in the removal of a cannon, a twelve pounder, from the ſouth to the north battery, being a diſtance of one hundred and forty yards. The truth of this fact and of the others was ſupported by public documents, tranſmitted to the ſecretary of ſtate by the governor of the iſland, and by gen. Vaughan. Be it mentioned to the honor and praiſe of Don Pedro St. Jago, a captain of the regiment of Arragon, and of the other Spaniſh priſoners at Barbadoes, who were all under his immediate direction, that they acted the kind part of friends, inſtead of behaving like enemies, or even with indifference, in this ſeaſon of calamity; and omitted no labor or ſervice in their power, for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed inhabitants, and the preſervation of public order.

The iſlands of St. Lucie, Grenada and St. Vincent, were likewiſe laid nearly deſolate. Moſt of the ſhips of war were driven out to ſea from St. Lucie, in the beginning of the hurricane. The tranſports, victuallers, and traders, were diſmaſted, and generally driven on ſhore. A prize of 18 guns was wrecked on the back

of

of the iſland, and all except 17 periſhed. The Andro- 1780.
meda and Laurel of 28 guns each, were loſt on the coaſt of Martinico; none of the officers and but few of the crews were ſaved. The Deal Caſtle of 24 guns ſuffered the ſame fate. The ſquadron under admiral Rowley, which convoyed the Jamaica trade on its way to Europe, experienced no leſs calamity, and ſuſtained ſtill greater loſs. The admiral returned to Jamaica with five ſhips, moſtly diſmaſted and all diſabled. The Sterling Caſtle of 64 guns, was totally loſt on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and only about 50 of the crew ſaved. The Thunderer, commodore Boyle Walſingham, was undoubtedly ſwallowed up, no traces of her fate having yet come to light. The Phœnix of 44 guns, Sir Hyde Parker, was wrecked on the iſle of Cuba; but her officers and moſt of her crew were ſaved. The Barbadoes and Victor ſloops of war, with the Cameleon, Scarborough, and La Blanche frigates, became likewiſe, with a partial or total loſs of men and officers, victims to the rage of this mercileſs ſeaſon. The French iſlands appear to have ſuffered even more than the Britiſh, Barbadoes only excepted. At Martinico the public buildings and private houſes of Fort Royal town, to the amount of more than fourteen hundred, were blown down, and an incredible number of perſons loſt their lives. Every houſe in St. Pierre ſhared the ſame fate, and more than a thouſand people periſhed. The numbers loſt upon the iſland, including negroes, is computed at about 9000, and the damage at 700,000 louis d'ors. Sixty-two ſail of tranſports from France, which arrived that morning at Martinico, with ſtores and 2500 troops on board, were all driven out to ſea, and ſeveral were

loſt.

1780. loſt. The Experiment of 50 guns, and the Juno of 40, with ſome other royal French frigates, were deſtroyed; and 19 ſail of loaded Dutch veſſels were daſhed to pieces on Grenada. The deſtruction of people (whites and blacks) at St. Euſtatia, was reputed to be between 4 and 5000. A number of houſes were blown down and waſhed away with the inhabitants into the ſea. The pecuniary loſs muſt be very great.

The humanity of the marquis de Bouille affords ſome relief to theſe ſcenes of horror and devaſtation. He ſent 31 Britiſh ſailors (the remains that were ſaved of the crews of the Laurel and Andromeda) under a flag of truce to commodore Hotham at St. Lucie, accompanied with a declaration, that he could not conſider in the light of enemies, men who had ſo hardly eſcaped in a contention with the force of the elements; but that they having, in common with his own people, been partakers of the ſame danger, were in like manner entitled to every comfort and relief that could be given, in a ſeaſon of ſuch univerſal calamity and diſtreſs. He only lamented, he ſaid, that their number was ſo ſmall, and particularly that none of the officers were ſaved.

Oct. 31. The new parliament met on the laſt of October. The late ſpeaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, having offended the miniſtry, by exerciſing too much of an independent ſpirit, they determined upon chooſing another perſon in his room. Mr. Dunning moved, that Sir Fletcher ſhould be continued. The miniſtry pretended, that an anxiety for his health was the real cauſe of moving that a different member might be choſen: but Sir Fletcher, after declaring that he came there with a full determination not to go again into the chair upon any account, informed

America; but to no purpoſe. For particular reaſons 1780.
that court declines making the treaty with France, the baſis of one with them. Congreſs was much overſeen in drawing bills upon him. The importance of Spain to America ſhould not have been brought forward, at leaſt ſhould not have been placed in ſuch a glaring point of view. The meaſure of drawing, in expectation that the Spaniards would ſupply the caſh, was conſidered by them as deſperate, and as what congreſs were prompted to by their imbecility. It was in the power of the Spaniſh court to have made the loan that was aſked: whereas, inſtead of furniſhing Mr. Jay with 30 or 40,000l. ſterling, the ſum requeſted for immediate ſervice, he was ſupplied with only about 4200l.

On the 29th of September died Maria Thereſa, empreſs of Germany, queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduchеſs of Auſtria, and natural ſovereign of all the widely extended dominions appertaining to that great houſe. Her death has occaſioned no convulſions in the European ſyſtem of politics.

Lord George Germain, in his letter to lord Cornwallis of November the 9th, commended Cornwallis's "determination to inflict exemplary puniſhment on thoſe traitors, who had repeated the violation of their oaths of allegiance, or broken their parole, and taken arms againſt the king, as wiſe and promotive of the great object of the war." He added, "I have not the leaſt doubt, from your lordſhip's vigorous and alert movements, the whole country, ſouth of the Delaware, will be reſtored to the king's obedience in the courſe of the [next] campaign."

The

1780. The French king this year dignified and for ever rendered his name-day memorable, by a preſent to his ſubjects, worthy the humanity and magnificence of a great and enlightened monarch. It was no leſs than aboliſhing for ever, that relic of barbariſm, ſo long the opprobium of the chriſtian name, and a ſtanding diſgrace to the moſt civilized and learned quarter of the world—the inhuman cuſtom of *putting the queſtion*, as it was called, by torture. It had been ſo long eſtabliſhed and rivetted, that it ſeemed to be an original and indiviſible part of the conſtitution of their courts of juſtice. The French king did alſo, in order to leſſen the burdens of his people, make a prodigious reform in his houſhold. In purſuance of the new plan adopted in his court, no leſs than 406 offices in that department were aboliſhed.

The torture having been mentioned, let it be remarked that no one is capitally condemned in Holland, till he acknowledges himſelf guilty; and that the torture is practiſed, when needful, to produce ſuch acknowledgment. But then it muſt obſerved, that no one is put to the torture without that evidence, which would hang him in Great Britain. If the accuſed has firmneſs of body and mind to ſupport under the rack through the whole proceſs, he is diſcharged though guilty; but though innocent, if (overcome by excruciating pain) he pronounces himſelf guilty, to obtain momentary eaſe, execution follows.

The bounty and kindneſs extended by the biſhop of Lugo to the Britiſh priſoners, deſerves every degree of praiſe and gratitude. Although ſome of their commanders behaved otherwiſe, the Spaniſh nobility and merchants, in general, ſhowed extraordinary marks of

friendſhip,

friendſhip, and even of affection, to thoſe Britiſh gen- 1780.
tlemen who fell in their way, while national hoſtilities were carrying on. The Spaniards labored hard in puſhing on their works againſt Gibraltar, but had often the mortification of ſeeing them when nearly completed, deſtroyed in a few hours by the weight of fire from the batteries. Gen. Elliot would let them proceed to a certain point, and then at once throw all their hopes to the ground. Some judicious and ſucceſsful ſallies were likewiſe made occaſionally, though ſparingly, by the garriſon. The vexation of being ſo baffled by a handful of men, has at length whetted the invention of the Spaniards to a project, that may afford much trouble to the garriſon when perfected, and infinitely increaſe the difficulties and dangers of the defence.

The conduct of the duke of Modena, in aboliſhing the inquiſition in his dominions, muſt be enumerated among the remarkable circumſtances, that have diſtinguiſhed the year 1780. It affords a freſh inſtance of the progreſs, which liberal ideas, with reſpect to toleration and the rights of conſcience, are now making throughout Europe. Upon the death of the grand inquiſitor at Reggio, the prince immediately ordered that tribunal to be for ever aboliſhed; its revenues to be applied to laudable purpoſes; and the priſons and other buildings, which could preſerve any memorial of its having ever exiſted, to be demoliſhed.

In the courſe of this year a conſiderable number of well-fought and deſperate actions have taken place between Britiſh and French frigates; in which, though the former had almoſt continually the advantage when upon equal terms, and the latter were frequently taken, yet there

1780. there were ſuch inſtances of profeſſional ſkill, courage and dexterity, conſtantly diſplayed on the part of the French, as were before unknown in their marine.

The preſent letter will be kept ready to ſend off inſtantly, whenever the opportunity of a ſafe conveyance offers.

LETTER II.

Roxbury, April 21, 1781.

My good Sir,

1781. THE Maſſachuſetts government was greatly alarmed on the 14th of January, by the unexpected arrival of gen. Knox with an account of the Pennſylvania line's having revolted, and marched off from Morriſtown. Gov. Hancock had been prepared to expect an event of that kind, though in a different quarter: for gen. Glover wrote to him on the 11th of the preceding month—" It is now four days ſince your line of the army has eaten one mouthful of bread. We have no money: nor will any body truſt us. The beſt of wheat is at this moment ſelling in the ſtate of New York for three fourths of a dollar [3s. 4d. ½ ſterling] per buſhel, and your army is ſtarving for want. On the 1ſt of January ſomething will turn up if not ſpeedily prevented, which your officers cannot be anſwerable for." Several

cauſes contributed to produce the revolt of the Penn- 1781.
ſylvania line. The officers, when they inliſted the men, imagined that the war would not continue more than three years; and thought, at their inliſtment, of holding them no longer than for that term at furtheſt, though they were to be diſcharged ſooner was the war ended: the men underſtood the agreement in the ſame manner. The officers finding the war did not cloſe as was expected, and recruiting difficult; the ſoldiers alſo being well trained by the three years ſervice; they were unwilling to part with them, and impoſed a new ſenſe upon the original agreement, viz. that the men were held to ſerve the whole war, though it laſted beyond the three years. This the men reſented as an impoſition, and ſubmitted to only from neceſſity, and till the moment ſhould offer for the redreſs of ſuch an iniquitous grievance. The officers, to ſooth the ſoldiers, relaxed in their diſcipline, which made the men feel their own importance. Major M'Pherſon having quitted the Britiſh ſervice in an honorable way, and attached himſelf to the Americans, gen. Waſhington, when occaſion required his forming a particular corps, gave the command of it to the major in token of reſpect, and by way of encouragement. Upon that the Pennſylvania officers formed themſelves into parties; combined in an oppoſition to the appointment; and offered to reſign their commiſſions upon the occaſion. They alſo countenanced the non-commiſſioned officers of their line to unite in applying to head quarters for certain favors. Such conduct contributed to ſtrengthen and ripen that diſpoſition which produced the revolt. The language which the officers of rank talked upon theſe occaſions,

1781. within the hearing of the injured ſoldiers, was not unnoticed; but was applied to direct the conduct of the latter, while it cheriſhed their diſcontent: ſo that the revolt would have taken place before, had the opportunity and proſpect of ſucceſs been equally favorable. To the capital grievance abovementioned muſt be added —the total want of pay for near twelve months—the want of clothing—and not unfrequently the want of proviſion beyond deſcription. A further aggravation was produced by the arrival in camp of a deputation from the Pennſylvania ſtate with 600 half joes, to be given, three to each man, as a bounty to each of the ſix months levies (whoſe time was then expiring) that would inliſt again for the war. This was too much for the veterans. The commencement of the new year was to be celebrated, which occaſioned the men's being charged with more than a common allowance of ſpirit.
Jan. 1. The operation of this upon the animal frame, and the other circumſtances conſpiring, the Pennſylvania line mutinied. The whole, except three regiments, upon a ſignal for the purpoſe, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redreſs of grievances. Gen. Wayne and the other officers did every thing in their power to quell the tumult. But the troops ſaid—"We neither can, nor will be any longer amuſed. We are determined, at every hazard, to march in a body to congreſs and obtain redreſs." On Wayne's cocking his piſtols, there were a hundred bayonets at his breaſt with—"We love you, we reſpect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not miſtake us, we are not going to the enemy: on the contrary, were they now to come out, you ſhould ſee us fight under your orders with

with as much reſolution and alacrity as ever." Several officers were wounded and a captain killed in vainly attempting to reduce them. The three regiments paraded under their officers; but being called upon by the others to join them, and threatened with death in caſe of refuſal, and actually fired on, they complied. They then ſeized upon ſix field pieces, and forcing the artillery men who had not joined them, to do it inſtantly, under penalty of being every man bayonetted, the mutiny became general. They were about 1300, and began their march at night: the next day Wayne forwarded proviſions after them, to prevent the otherwiſe inevitable depredation which would be made on private property. He and three principal officers, ſuppoſed higheſt in their eſteem, concluded upon following and mixing with them, that they might aſſiſt with their advice, and prevent outrages. They were civilly received, and acquired much of the confidence of the mutineers. Theſe however elected temporary officers from their own body; and appointed a ſergeant major, who had formerly deſerted from the Britiſh army, to be their commander. They marched through the country with greater regularity and good conduct, and did leſs damage, than could have been expected. By the third day they were at Princeton. 1781.

When the news of their revolt reached gen. Waſhington, the Pennſylvania government, and the congreſs, they were all much alarmed, leſt the example ſhould prove infectious. The commander in chief concluded upon ſending off immediately a proper perſon to the eaſtern ſtates, to enforce upon them the doing of ſomething without delay for the relief and comfort of their reſpective lines. Hard money was to be found in the

1781. hands of but one officer, ſufficient for the expences of the journey, which could not be otherwiſe performed with a ſpeed anſwerable to the emergency. Gen. Knox had obtained a ſmall quantity, which was deſtined for the procurement of thoſe family ſupplies which he muſt otherwiſe have wanted. This annexed to his other qualifications, made him the beſt and the only agent that gen. Waſhington could employ. He readily engaged in the ſervice, notwithſtanding its being the depth of winter, and carried with him a letter of January the 5th, wherein his excellency ſaid—"It is vain to think an army can be kept together much longer, under ſuch a variety of ſufferings as ours have experienced; and unleſs ſome immediate and ſpeedy meaſures are adopted to furniſh at leaſt three months pay to the troops, in money which will be of ſome value to them; and at the ſame time ways and means are deviſed to clothe and feed them better (more regularly I mean) the worſt that can befall us may be expected. I refer you to gen. Knox, &c." His ſucceſs was ſuch, that Waſhington wrote to him about a month after—"The ſtates whoſe determinations you report, have done themſelves honor by their liberality, and by their ready attention to the object of your miſſion."

When Sir Henry Clinton received intelligence of the revolt, he left no means untried that could turn it to the advantage of the Britiſh. He ſent two ſpies by way of Amboy, and two of Elizabeth town (all Americans) to treat as agents from himſelf with the mutineers. The laſt two were counter-ſpies; who gave information of the others upon being deſignedly taken up; and had the propoſals with which they were intruſted taken from

them. The two that got ſafe to Princeton carried ſimi- 1781.
lar ones to the revolters, viz. "to be taken under the protection of the Britiſh government—to have a free pardon for all paſt offences—to have the pay due to them from congreſs faithfully paid, without any expectation of military ſervice in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered—and to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance." It was recommended to them to move behind the South river, when a body of Britiſh troops ſhould be in readineſs for their protection as ſoon as deſired. They were requeſted to ſend perſons to Amboy, to meet others who would be appointed by Sir Henry, to diſcuſs and ſettle the treaty, and bring matters to a final concluſion: Mean while, the Britiſh general paſſed over to Staten Iſland, with a large body of troops, and took the neceſſary meaſures for moving them to the continent, whenever circumſtances might require their acting. Clinton's propoſals were rejected, and his meſſengers ſeized and delivered up to gen. Wayne, who put them under guard. Soon after, a committee of the Pennſylvania council repaired to Princeton to meet the ſoldiery. They agreed to the diſmiſſion of all whoſe terms of inliſtment were completed; and precipitately admitted as proof the oath of the party to be benefitted; ſo that a great number fraudulently procured diſcharges, and about one half of the line was diſmiſſed before the whole buſineſs was concluded, which happened not for ſome days. A committee of congreſs came as far as Trenton, and there remained. The revolters marched from Princeton to that place on the 9th. The next day the two ſpies were Jan.
tried and executed. By the 15th matters were ſo ad- 9.

1781. juſted, that the committee of congreſs returned to Philadelphia. The ſame day congreſs agreed upon a circular letter to the ſtates. They mentioned in it, that an immediate proviſion for the pay of the army was indiſpenſably neceſſary. They eſtimated the ſum to be forwarded by the reſpective ſtates from Pennſylvania to New Hampſhire incluſive, at 879,342 dollars. It was calculated on ſix months pay in ſpecie value; and the advance of one half without delay, and the remainder by the firſt of the following April, were ſtrongly urged.

The ſucceſs of the Pennſylvania revolters encouraged about 160 of the Jerſey brigade to ſeek redreſs in a ſimilar way on the 20th of the ſame month. Their number was not alarming. A temporizing conduct was no longer needful. Obedience might be enforced with ſafety. The American general, Robert Howe, was ſent off with a large detachment from the main army, with orders to compel the mutineers to unconditional ſubmiſſion, and to liſten to no terms while they were in a ſtate of reſiſtance, and on their reduction inſtantly to execute a few of the moſt active and incendiary leaders; for gen. Waſhington preferred any extremity to a compromiſe. When he arrived, inſtant ſubmiſſion was required; and the two ringleaders were directly taken, tried, and executed. The Britiſh wiſhed to benefit by this revolt; and forwarded propoſals by one Woodroff; but he inſtantly delivered them to the American officers. Thus were the high hopes which Clinton had entertained from the revolt of the Pennſylvania line, completely baffled: while a ſtriking inſtance preſented itſelf of the prevailing unfavorable diſpoſition of the ſuffering troops, with reſpect to the Britiſh government.

Pre-

Previous to theſe military convulſions congreſs had 1781.
taken a ſtep, from which they promiſed themſelves future relief, though it could not be obtained immediately. They had on the 23d of December, commiſſioned lieut. col. John Laurens, as ſpecial miniſter at the court of Verſailles, to procure the wanted aids. Two days before, they directed the preſident to write to the miniſters plenipotentiary at Verſailles and Madrid, deſiring them to apply to the courts at which they reſpectively reſide, to uſe means for obtaining the releaſe and exchange of the honorable Henry Laurens, [the lieut. colonel's father] the news of whoſe commitment to the Tower had reached them. Means were taken to impreſs the chevalier de la Luzerne with a ſenſe of the calamitous ſituation in which the United States were, that ſo his information might add weight to the colonel's negotiation. Gen. Greene ſaid to him in a letter of Jan. the 9th—"If France lends not a ſpeedy aid to this diſtreſſed people, I fear the country will be for ever loſt." The commander in chief furniſhed the colonel with the following thoughts on the 15th of January.—"To me Jan.
it appears evident:—1. That conſidering the diffuſed 15.
population of theſe ſtates, the conſequent difficulty of drawing together its reſources, the compoſition and *temper* of part of its inhabitants, the want of a ſufficient ſtock of national ſtrength as a foundation for revenue, and the almoſt total extinction of commerce, the efforts we have been compelled to make for carrying on the war, have exceeded the natural abilities of this country and by degrees brought it to a criſis, which renders immediate efficacious ſuccours from abroad indiſpenſable to its ſafety:—2. That, notwithſtanding from the confu-

1781. ſion always attending a revolution, from our having had governments to frame, and every ſpecies of civil and military inſtitution to create, from that inexperience neceſſarily incident to a nation in its commencement, ſome errors may have been committed in the adminiſtration of our finances, to which a part of our embarraſſments are to be attributed; yet they are principally to be aſcribed to an eſſential defect of means, to the want of a ſufficient ſtock of wealth, as mentioned in the firſt article, which continuing to operate, will make it impoſſible, by any merely interior exertions, to extricate ourſelves from thoſe embarraſſments, reſtore public credit, and furniſh the funds requiſite for the ſupport of the war:—3. That experience has demonſtrated the impracticability long to maintain a paper credit without funds for its redemption:—4. That the mode which for want of money has been ſubſtituted for ſupplying the army, by aſſeſſing a proportion of the produces of the earth, has hitherto been found ineffectual:—5. That from the beſt eſtimates of the annual expence of the war, and the annual revenues which theſe ſtates are capable of affording, there is a large balance to be ſupplied by credit. The reſource of domeſtic loans is inconſiderable:—6. That the patience of the army is now nearly exhauſted, which demonſtrates the abſolute neceſſity of a ſpeedy relief, a relief not within the compaſs of our means:—7. That the people being diſſatisfied with the mode of ſupporting the war, evils actually felt in the proſecution of it may weaken the ſentiments which began it:—8. That from all the foregoing conſiderations, reſult, firſt, the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ample and efficacious ſuccour of money, large enough to

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be a foundation for ſubſtantial arrangements of finance, 1781.
to revive public credit, and give vigor to future operations; ſecondly, the vaſt importance of a decided effort of the allied arms on this continent the enſuing campaign, to effectuate once for all the great objects of the alliance, the liberty and independence of theſe ſtates:—9. That next to a loan of money a conſtant ſuperiority on theſe coaſts is the object moſt intereſting:—10. That an additional ſuccour of troops would be extremely deſirable:—11. That no nation will have it more in its power to repay what it borrows than this: our debts are hitherto ſmall.—The people are diſcontented, but it is with the feeble and oppreſſive mode of conducting the war, not with the war itſelf. A large majority are ſtill firmly attached to the independence of theſe ſtates." To Dr. Franklin the general wrote the ſame day—"To me nothing appears more evident, than that the period of our oppoſition will very ſhortly arrive, if our allies cannot afford us that effectual aid, particularly in money and a naval ſuperiority, which is now ſolicited." To what purpoſes ſuch ſuperiority was to be applied, a letter of the 10th of February declared, which ſaid—"In the conference between count de Rochambeau and myſelf it was agreed, that if by the aid of our allies we can have a naval ſuperiority through the next campaign, and an army of thirty thouſand men (or double the force of the enemy at New York and its dependencies) early enough in the ſeaſon to operate in that quarter, to prefer it to every other object; and applications have been made to the court of France in this ſpirit. If we ſhould find ourſelves unable to undertake this more capital expedition; and if we have means equal to it,

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1780. we ſhall attempt a ſecondary object. The reduction of Charleſtown, Savannah, &c. may come into contemplation." The proſpect of giving relief to the ſouthern ſtates, by an operation againſt New York, was the principal inducement for propoſing it.

The ſouthern operations have been peculiar. Before they are related, let it be remarked, that when gen. Gates paſſed through Richmond on his way home, the Virginia houſe of delegates on December the 28th—"Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That a committee of four be appointed to wait on major general Gates, and to aſſure him of the high regard and eſteem of this houſe:—That the remembrance of his former glorious ſervices cannot be obliterated by any reverſe of fortune, but that this houſe, ever mindful of his great merit, will omit no opportunity of teſtifying to the world the gratitude which, as a member of the American union, this country owes to him in his military character." To this reſolve, when communicated by the committee of four, the general anſwered the ſame day—"Sirs, I ſhall ever remember with the utmoſt gratitude, the high honor this day done me, by the honorable the houſe of delegates of Virginia. When I engaged in the noble cauſe of freedom and the United States, I devoted myſelf entirely to the ſervice of obtaining the great end of their union. That I have been once unfortunate is my great mortification; but let the event of my future ſervices be what they may, they will, as they always have been, be directed by the moſt faithful integrity, and animated by the trueſt zeal for the honor and intereſt of the United States."

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When gen. Greene entered upon his command, he found himſelf under the greateſt embarraſſments. The numerous whig militia that had been kept on foot in North Carolina, had laid waſte almoſt all the country. The troops were deſtitute of every thing neceſſary either for their comfort or convenience. The men were naked; there were no magazines; and the army was ſubſiſted by daily collections. Every thing depended upon opinion; and it was equally dangerous for him to go forward or to ſtand ſtill; for if he loſt the confidence of the people, he loſt all ſupport; and if he ruſhed on to danger, all was hazarded. The impatience of the people to drive off the enemy, if regarded, would precipitate him into a thouſand misfortunes. The mode of conducting the war, moſt to the liking of the inhabitants, was the leaſt likely to effect their ſalvation *. By the genuine returns on the 8th of December, it appears, that the infantry then ſerving under Greene were, rank and file, preſent and fit for duty 1482, and on command 547, in all 2029; of theſe 821 were continentals, and 1208 militia. Add to theſe 90 cavalry, 60 artillery, and 128 continentals on extra ſervice, and his whole operative force was 2307. The fewneſs of his troops, the nature of the country, filled with woods and ſwamps, and thinly inhabited, the toryiſm of numbers, and the want of magazines, led the general to conclude on a partizan war. He conſidered the maxims of European generals, but was far from confining himſelf to them; for he obſerved that however they might ſuit that part of the world, they were not adapted to the place where he was to act, only in certain circumſtances, 1780.

* The general's own letters.

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1780. to which when they occurred, he meant to be attentive. On his arrival at camp, he learned that the troops had made a practice of going home without permiſſion, ſtaying weeks and then returning. Determined to ſtop ſuch a dangerous cuſtom, the general gave out that he would make an example of the firſt deſerter of the kind he caught; and one was accordingly ſhot at the head of the army drawn up to be ſpectators of the puniſhment. At night he ſent officers round the camp to liſten to the talk of the ſoldiers, and was happy to find that the meaſure had taken its deſired effect, and that the language of the men was only—"We muſt not do as we have been uſed to: it is new lords new laws." But it was a mortification to him to learn from another quarter, that by the folly or treachery of thoſe who had the charge of the priſoners taken at King's Mountain, all except about 130 had been enlarged upon different conditions; by which he loſt upward of 600 men, who would have been of the utmoſt importance in an exchange with lord Cornwallis. His lordſhip on the 1ſt of December addreſſed to him the following note—"I think it proper to repreſent to you, that the officers and men taken at King's Mountain, were treated with an inhumanity ſcarcely credible. I find myſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of making ſome retaliation for thoſe unhappy men, who were ſo cruelly and unjuſtly put to death at Gilbert-
Dec. 17. town." Gen. Greene anſwered to it on the 17th—"I am too much a ſtranger to the tranſactions at Gilbert-town to reply fully to that ſubject. They muſt have been committed before my arrival in the department, and by perſons under the character of volunteers, who were independent of the army. However, if there was

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any thing done in that affair contrary to the principles 1780.
of humanity and the law of nations, and for which they had not the conduct of your army as a precedent, I ſhall be ever ready to teſtify my diſapprobation of it.—The firſt example was furniſhed on your part, as appears by the liſt of unhappy ſufferers encloſed; and it might have been expected, that the friends of the unfortunate ſhould follow it.—Puniſhing capitally for a breach of military parole is a ſeverity, that the principles of modern war will not authorize, unleſs the inhabitants are to be treated as a conquered people, and ſubject to all the rigor of military government.—The feelings of mankind will for ever decide, when the rights of humanity are invaded. I leave them to judge of the tendency of your lordſhip's order to lieut. col. Balfour after the action near Camden, of lord Rawdon's proclamation, and of Tarleton's laying waſte the country and diſtreſſing the inhabitants, who were taught to expect protection and ſecurity, if they obſerved but a neutrality.—Sending the inhabitants of Charleſtown to St. Auguſtine, contrary to the articles of capitulation, is a violation which I have alſo to repreſent, and which I hope your lordſhip will think yourſelf bound to redreſs." The liſt referred to was this—"William Stroud and Mr. Dowel, executed near Rocky Mount, without a trial, by order of lieut. col. Turnbull. Richard Tucker, Samuel Andrews, and John Miles, hanged in Camden by order of lord Cornwallis. Mr. Johnſon hanged ſince the action of Black Stocks, by lieut. col. Tarleton. About thirty perſons hanged at Auguſta by col. Brown. Adam Cuſack hanged at Pee-dee by one col. Mills."

General

1780. General Greene perceiving that he could not bring proviſions to his army from any diſtance, reſolved to march his army to the proviſions. The country about Charlotte, and from thence to Camden, was exhauſted, having been long the ſcene of military operations. The river Peedee afforded the neareſt ſupply; and what was a conſiderable inducement to repair thither, the cane-brakes in that part of the country afforded good paſturage for the horſes. The only difficulty was, that the ſituation propoſed to be taken was more diſtant from the enemy than Charlotte; and the general heſitated about making his firſt motion retrograde. The confidence of the enemy, the diffidence of his troops, and the deſpair of the people, might all be excited by ſuch a manœuvre. Such was his dilemma, that he muſt either relinquiſh a conſiderable part of the country, or divide his ſmall force ſo as to render each part too inconſiderable for the defence of it. He ſaw the danger of ſeparating his force, but was obliged to ſubmit to neceſſity. Brigadier general Morgan, who was inveſted with the command of the light troops by gen. Gates, was continued in that command by Greene; and the corps was completed by freſh draughts from the line to 300 infantry under lieut. col. Howard, 170 Virginia riflemen under major Triplett, and about 70 light dragoons under lieut. col. Waſhington. The light troops were detached to the weſtward of the Wateree into South Carolina, to watch the motions of the enemy at Wynſborough and Camden, and to ſhift for themſelves. They took their poſition in the weſtern extremity of the ſtate on the 25th of December.

The

The command of the North Carolina militia devolved on brigadier Davidſon, brigadier Smallwood having obtained leave to go home. Gen Marion was engaged in ſtimulating his countrymen in the lower parts of South Carolina; in keeping the tories in awe; in watching the enemy at their poſts of Charleſtown, George-town, and neighbouring places; and in gaining intelligence. 1780.

General Greene with the remainder of his army, conſiſting of the continental brigade under col. O. Williams, and the Virginia militia brigade under gen. Stevens, with the artillery and a very few horſe, marched from Charlotte on the 20th, and arrived at Hicks's Creek on the eaſt ſide of the Peedee on the 26th, where he remained for ſome time. Here the ſpirit of plundering which prevailed among the inhabitants added much to his difficulties. The whole country was in danger of being laid waſte by the whigs and tories, who purſued, deſtroyed and killed each other, wherever they met, with as much relentleſs fury as beaſts of prey. He regretted, that moſt people appeared to be in purſuit of revenge, private gain, or perſonal glory *. Dec. 26.

Morgan on the 27th detached Waſhington with his dragoons, and about 200 militia, who marched 40 miles on the 28th, and the next day ſurpriſed a body of tories in Ninety Six, about 150 of whom were killed and wounded, and 40 made priſoners, and a number of horſes taken, without any loſs on the part of the Americans. Major M'Dowal, with 190 North Carolina militia, and col. Pickens with about 70 South, joined the light troops. Pickens had lately eſcaped from captivity in Ninety Six, where his great worth and popularity influenced many

* General Greene's letters.

1781. to adhere to the American cauſe. On the 8th of January Greene ſent word to Morgan, that the enemy had a movement in contemplation; and eleven days after, forwarded ſome advice which will ſoon be mentioned.

Jan. 12. Greene had in camp at Hicks's Creek, preſent and fit for duty, 650 continentals, a detachment of 303 Virginia troops, and 157 Maryland ſtate troops, in all 1110. The next day col. Lee's partizan legion arrived from the northward. The corps conſiſted of about one hundred horſemen well mounted, and one hundred and twenty infantry. On the 13th the legion was detached on a ſecret expedition. To take off the attention of the enemy and favor the enterpriſe, major Anderſon was ſent with a ſmall command down the Peedee. Lee puſhed on for George-town, which he ſurpriſed the 24th at night. Lieut. col. Campbell was taken in his quarters and paroled; ſeveral other officers alſo were made priſoners and paroled. Major Irwin and a number more of the garriſon were killed; but the principal part fled to the fort, which Lee was not in a condition to beſiege. While this enterpriſe was carrying on, the enemy aimed a blow at Morgan. Greene before he heard of Morgan's ſucceſs, wrote to him on the 19th of January—"The Peedee roſe 25 feet the laſt week in 30 hours. Put nothing to the hazard. A retreat may be diſagreeable, but is not diſgraceful. Regard not the opinion of the day. It is not our buſineſs to riſk too much."

General Leſlie in compliance with his orders, left Virginia, and arrived at Charleſtown with his troops on the 13th of December: on the 19th he began his march up the country with about 1530 men, to join lord Cornwallis, which was effected without difficulty. On the

the 11th of January his lordſhip advanced toward North 1781
Carolina. He wiſhed to drive gen. Morgan from his ſtation, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. The execution of this buſineſs was intruſted to lieut. col. Tarleton; who was detached with the light and legion infantry, the fuſileers, the firſt battalion of the 71ſt regiment, about 350 cavalry, two field pieces, and an adequate proportion of men from the royal artillery, upward of a 1100 in the whole. This detachment, after a progreſs of ſome days, by fatiguing marches, at about ten o'clock on the evening of the 16th of January, reached the ground which Morgan had quitted but a few hours before. The purſuit recommenced by two o'clock the next morning, and was rapidly continued 17.
through marſhes and broken grounds till day light, when the Americans were diſcovered in front. Two of their videttes were taken ſoon after, who gave information that Morgan had halted and prepared for action, at a place called the Cowpens, near Pacolet river. The Britiſh, beſide their field pieces, had the ſuperiority in infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and in cavalry of more than three to one. Beſide, nearly two thirds of the troops under Morgan were militia. Morgan had obtained early intelligence of Tarleton's force and advances; and had drawn up his men in two lines. The whole of the North and South Carolina militia preſent was put under the command of col. Pickens, and formed the firſt line; which was advanced a few hundred yards before the ſecond, with orders to form on the right of the ſecond when forced to retire. The ſecond line conſiſted of the light infantry under lieut. col. Howard, and the Virginia riflemen. Lieut. col. Waſhington,

1781. with his cavalry, and about forty-five militiamen, mounted and equipped with ſwords, under lieut. col. M'Call, were drawn up at ſome diſtance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed, was neither ſecured in front, flank or rear. Without the delay of a ſingle moment, and in deſpite of extreme fatigue, the light legion infantry and fuſileers were ordered to form in line. Before the order was executed, and while major Newmarſh, who commanded the latter corps, was poſting his officers, the line though far from complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himſelf. The Britiſh advanced with a ſhout, and poured in an inceſſant fire of muſketry. Col. Pickens directed the militia not to fire till the Britiſh were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmneſs and ſucceſs, was not ſufficient to repel the enemy. The American militia gave way on all quarters. The Britiſh advanced rapidly, and engaged the ſecond line. The continentals, after an obſtinate conflict, were compelled to retreat to the cavalry. Col. Ogilvie, with his troop of forty men, had been ordered to charge the right flank of the Americans, and was engaged in cutting down the militia; but being expoſed to a heavy fire, and charged at the ſame time by Waſhington's dragoons, was forced to retreat in confuſion. A great number of the Britiſh infantry officers had already fallen, and nearly a proportionable one of privates. The remainder being too few and too much fatigued, could not improve the advantage gained over the continentals; and Tarleton's legion cavalry ſtanding aloof inſtead of advancing, lieut. col. Howard ſeized the favorable opportunity, rallied the continentals, and charged with fixed bayonets, nearly at the

the ſame moment when Waſhington made his ſucceſsful attack. The example was inſtantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment of the Britiſh, occaſioned by theſe unexpected charges. Their advance fell back, and communicated a panic to others, which ſoon became general. Two hundred and fifty horſe which had not been engaged, fled through the woods with the utmoſt precipitation, bearing down ſuch officers as oppoſed their flight; and the cannon were ſoon ſeized by the Americans, the detachment from the train being either killed or wounded in their defence. The greateſt confuſion now followed among the infantry. In the moment of it lieut. col. Howard called to them to lay down their arms, and promiſed them good quarters. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and ſurrendered. The firſt battalion of the 71ſt regiment, and two Britiſh light infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. The only body of infantry that eſcaped, was a detachment left at ſome diſtance to guard the baggage. Early intelligence of their defeat was conveyed to the officer commanding that corps by ſome royaliſts. What part of the baggage could not be carried off he immediately deſtroyed; and with his men mounted on the waggon and ſpare horſes, he retreated to lord Cornwallis. The Britiſh had 10 commiſſioned officers, and upward of 100 rank and file killed. Two hundred wounded, 29 commiſſioned officers, and above 500 privates priſoners, fell into the hands of the Americans, beſide two pieces of artillery (firſt taken from the Britiſh at Saratoga, then retaken by them at Camden, and now recovered by the Americans) two ſtandards, 800 muſkets, 35 baggage waggons, and upward of 100 dra- 1781.

1781. goon horſes. Waſhington purſued Tarleton's cavalry for ſeveral miles; but the far greater part of them eſcaped. They joined their army in two ſeparate diviſions. One arrived in the neighbourhood of the Britiſh encampment upon the evening of the ſame day; the other under Tarleton appeared the next morning. Although Tarleton's corps had waged a moſt cruel warfare, and their progreſs had been marked with burnings and devaſtations, not a man of them was killed, wounded, or even inſulted after he had ſurrendered. The Americans had only twelve men killed and ſixty wounded.

General Morgan, together with his officers and troops, have juſtly obtained the univerſal applauſe of their countrymen. The glory and importance of the action have reſounded from one end of the continent to the other. The deſponding friends of America in the ſouthern ſtates were re-animated; and enjoyed a ſeeming reſurrection from the dead. When it was known by congreſs that the ſouthern army had ſafely croſſed the Dan into Virginia, they returned on the 9th of March the thanks of the United States to gen. Morgan, and the officers and men under his command. They reſolved alſo to honor the general with a gold medal, col. Waſhington with a ſilver one, col. Howard with another, and col. Pickens with a ſword.

Several of the Britiſh officers cenſure Tarleton for not halting his troops before he engaged; that ſo they might have been refreſhed, and time have been given for the detachment with the baggage, together with batmen and officers ſervants to come up and join in the action. They charge him with un-officer-like impetuoſity

ofity in directing the line to advance before it was pro- 1781.
perly formed, and before the reſerve had taken its ground. They pronounce him guilty of an error in omitting to give diſcretionary powers to the commander of the reſerve to advance, when the front line was in purſuit of the militia; but chiefly in not bringing up a column of cavalry to ſupport and improve the advantages he had gained when the American infantry were compelled to retreat. Tarleton's impetuous attacks had anſwered in former inſtances: but in the preſent action, he did not ſurpriſe his enemy; and engaged an officer, Morgan, who had faced the troops under Burgoyne, and ſerved under Waſhington and Gates.

Lord Cornwallis, with the expectation of regaining the priſoners, and of demoliſhing Morgan's corps, inſtantly concluded on a purſuit. Morgan, aware of the conſequences of delay, ſent on the militia with the priſoners, and to cover their retreat manœuvred in their rear with his cavalry and regular infantry. Cornwallis, that he might march with more eaſe and rapidity, on the 25th of January, began to deſtroy all his ſuperfluous baggage; and even all the waggons, except thoſe with hoſpital ſtores, ſalt and ammunition, and four others which were reſerved empty for the ſick and wounded. The ſame day, Greene ordered Stevens to march with his brigade of Virginia militia (whoſe time was nearly expired) by way of Charlotte, and take the priſoners on under his care to Charlotte Ville in Virginia, to which place Morgan had inſtructions to ſend them. Greene concluded that being preſent with Morgan, he could ſo order the movements of both diviſions for forming a junction, as would excel any directions which could otherwiſe be given. He Jan. 25.

1781. therefore left the camp at Hicks's Creek, under the command of gen. Huger and col. Otho Williams, and ſet forward on the 28th, attended by one aid de camp and two or three militia men, armed and mounted. The firſt intelligence he gained on his route was, that Cornwallis was marching after Morgan with great expedition. His lordſhip gained upon the latter, after the deſtruction of his baggage. Greene immediately ſent off an expreſs to Huger and Williams, with directions for them to march with all poſſible diſpatch to form a junction with the light troops at Charlotte or Saliſbury, as circumſtances would admit. They marched the next day. Greene proceeded; and on the 31ſt, after a journey of 150 miles, joined the light troops encamped at Sherrard's Ford, on the north ſide of the Catawba. They had reached the Catawba on the 28th; and by the evening of the next day they and their priſoners had paſſed it without any difficulty. About two hours after Morgan had croſſed, the Britiſh advance arrived. It rained hard that night, and the river roſe ſo high as to prevent lord Cornwallis's getting over. The riſe was owing chiefly to the rains which had fallen before in the mountains. Had the riſe taken place a few hours earlier, Morgan, with his whole detachment and five hundred priſoners, would ſcarcely have had a chance of eſcaping. His lordſhip could not croſs for two days; which gave an opportunity of ſending the priſoners forward with ſafety. The arrival of gen. Greene was no leſs providential than the riſe of the river. Gen. Morgan was for retreating over the mountains, a different route from what Greene propoſed. He was ſo attached to his own opinion, that he declared he would not be anſwerable for conſe-

Jan. 31.

conſequences if it was not followed. Greene replied— 1781.
"Neither will you; for I ſhall take the meaſure upon myſelf;" and gave directions accordingly. The event has ſhown, that the other route muſt have proved fatal; and that the junction of the light troops with the main army under Huger and Williams could not have been effected by it. As ſoon as the paſſage of the Catawba was practicable, Cornwallis made preparations for croſſing. The more effectually to deceive the Americans he made a feint of paſſing at different fords: but the real attempt Feb.
was made early in the morning of the 1ſt of February, 1.
at a ford near M'Cowan's. Gen. Davidſon, with about 300 militia, arrived at this poſt the evening before. Greene, apprehenſive of Cornwallis's real intention, adviſed Davidſon to encamp his troops cloſe in with the ſide of the river, that he might be ready to give the enemy a vigorous oppoſition. The advice was neglected. Davidſon ſtationed only a ſmall number on the bank, while the main body was at a diſtance. The party on the bank made what oppoſition they could to the Britiſh; who marched through the river upward of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, without returning their fire, till after landing. The firing brought Davidſon toward the ſpot. But the Britiſh were formed; and he was ſoon ſhot dead in attempting to make a more effectual oppoſition to them. The militia throughout the neighbouring ſettlements were now totally diſpirited. Few of them could be perſuaded to take or keep the field. A ſmall party collected about ten miles from the ford; but was ſoon diſperſed by Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned; and the whole royal army croſſed over without any further oppoſition.

1781. A military race now commenced between the purſuing Britiſh under lord Cornwallis and the fleeing Americans under gen. Greene. The latter retreated as expeditiouſly as poſſible, and croſſed the Yadkin partly in flats and partly by fording, on the 2d and 3d of the month, and ſecured the boats on the north ſide. Though Cornwallis was ſo cloſe in the rear, as that a ſmart ſkirmiſh happened between a party of riflemen and his advance, yet a want of boats, and the rapid riſing of the river from preceding rains, made his croſſing impoſſible. This ſecond hair-breadth eſcape was conſidered as a freſh evidence of their being favored by Heaven. They viewed it with pious gratitude; and frequently remarked, that if the riſing of the river had been a few hours ſooner, Morgan's whole detachment would have been in the power of a greatly ſuperior army; if a few hours later, that Cornwallis would have effected his paſſage, ſo as to have enabled him to get between the two diviſions of the American army, which might have proved the deſtruction of both. That the Americans ſhould effect their paſſage in two ſucceſſive inſtances, while the Britiſh (whoſe advance was often in ſight of the American rear) were providentially reſtrained, affected the devout inhabitants of the neighbouring ſettlements with lively thanks to the Moſt High, and added freſh vigor to their exertions in behalf of their country.

Feb. 5. On the 5th Greene wrote to Huger—"I intend, if we can find a good poſition, to prepare to receive the enemy's attack. It is not improbable, from lord Cornwallis's puſhing diſpoſition, and the contempt he has for our army, we may precipitate him into ſome capital misfortune. If Cornwallis knows his true intereſt he will purſue

purſue our army. If he can diſperſe that, he completes 1781.
the reduction of the ſtate; and without it he will do nothing to effect." His lordſhip being obliged to march his troops about 25 miles to the upper fords, which are generally paſſable, gave time for the junction of the two diviſions of the American army on the 7th, near Guil- 7.
ford court houſe; circumſtances not having admitted of its being done either at Charlotte or Saliſbury.

Lord Cornwallis's firſt object, that of retorting the fatal blow given by Morgan at the Cowpens and of recovering the captives, being fruſtrated; and the Britiſh army being without tents, and like the Americans, dependent for ſubſiſtence on what could be haſtily picked up by detachments on a rapid march; it was doubted whether his lordſhip would proſecute his enterpriſe further: ſo that gen. Greene ſpent the 8th of February in refreſhing all his regular forces at Guilford court houſe, which was much wanted. The light troops had not time, after the battle, to take care of the wounded or even breathe (ſurgeons were left on the field) and their retreat of 150 miles was effected under difficulties that haraſſed them exceedingly. The retreat of the battalions from the Peedee under Huger, was conducted for 100 miles under circumſtances requiring the utmoſt patience. The worſt waggons, with the pooreſt teams, and moſt uſeleſs part of the baggage, were early ſent off by col. O. Williams to Hillſborough; but the beſt, and even the artillery, was an encumbrance in their ſituation. They were ſome times without meat, often without flour, and alway without ſpirituous liquors. Notwithſtanding the wintry ſeaſon, and their having little clothing, they were daily reduced to the neceſſity of fording deep creeks,

1781. creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of raiment, till the heat of their bodies and occaſional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. Their route lay through a barren country, which ſcarcely afforded neceſſaries for a few ſtraggling inhabitants. They were retarded by heavy rains, broken bridges, bad roads and poor horſes. Many of them marched without ſhoes over the frozen ground, and through flinty roads, which ſo gaſhed their feet, that the blood marked every ſtep of their progreſs. All theſe hardſhips were endured without the loſs of a ſingle ſentinel by deſertion. Lee's partizan legion had undergone extreme ſervice, through their additional expedition to George Town, 75 miles diſtant from the point where the retreat of the battalions commenced.

Though the toils and ſufferings of the Americans exceeded, thoſe of the royal army were far from trifling. The Britiſh had in common with the others bad roads, heavy rains, a want of cover, deep creeks and rivers through which to paſs in the depth of winter: but then they were well ſupplied in the articles of ſhoes and clothes. The difficulties and evils ariſing from lord Cornwallis's deſtroying the ſuperfluous baggage and waggons were not ſmall: but they were ſubmitted to with the moſt general and cheerful acquieſcence, from his lordſhip's ſetting the example.

Feb. 9. On the 9th of February gen. Greene wrote to gen. Sumpter—"I ſhall avoid a general action if poſſible: but I am afraid it will not be in my power. Our force is ſo ſmall and in ſuch diſtreſs, that I have little to hope, and every thing to fear." The troops preſent and fit for action were 1426, beſide riflemen and others, amounting

amounting to 397, and 176 cavalry, in all 1999. But they were greatly fatigued, and in general much diſpirited. The forces under Cornwallis (as Greene then thought and ſaid in his letter to gen. Waſhington) conſiſted of between 2500 and 3000, including near 300 dragoons and their mounted infantry. Theſe were well clothed, amply equipped, and confident of every advantage. In the morning a council of war was called; of which Greene ſent the following account to governor Naſh of North Carolina—" It was the unanimous opinion of a council of war this day, that it would be inevitable ruin to the army, and no leſs ruinous to the American cauſe, to hazard a general action: the council therefore adviſed to our croſſing the Dan immediately." The proper meaſures were inſtantly taken. A light army was formed out of col. Lee's legion, the regular battalion of infantry under col. Howard, the cavalry under col. Waſhington, and a ſmall corps of Virginia riflemen under major Campbell, amounting to about 700 men, the flower of the ſouthern American army. Gen. Morgan being rendered totally unfit for command, or even to march with his corps, by the great fatigue he had ſuffered, and the torment he was in with the rheumatiſm, Greene was embarraſſed in the appointment of an officer to ſucceed him. He finally reſolved to confer that honor upon the deputy adjutant general, col. Otho Holland Williams, who entered upon his command on the 10th; when Greene marched with the main army from Guilford court houſe toward the Dan, which forms the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia. 1781.

Lord Cornwallis well knowing the inferiority of the American army, conceived hopes of getting between Greene

1781. Greene and Virginia, and of reducing him to the neceſſity of either fighting or abandoning his communication with that ſtate, and likewiſe of running the riſk of being hemmed in between the great rivers in the weſt, the ſea on the eaſt, lord Rawdon in the ſouth, and the main royal army in the north. To this end Cornwallis kept the upper country, (where only the rivers are fordable) as he ſuppoſed that the Americans could not make good their paſſage in the deep water from the want of a ſufficient number of flats. In caſe they attempted it, he expected to overtake and force them to an action before they could croſs. But the advantages reſulting from the ſeaſon of the year, and from the face of the country, interſected with rivers and creeks, were ſo improved by Greene as completely to baffle his lordſhip. The better to avoid a rapid purſuit, the main and light army took different routes. The next day the latter had a rencounter with the van of the Britiſh army, in which an officer and half a dozen privates of Tarleton's legion were made priſoners, and ſeveral killed. Frequent ſkirmiſhes, and the manœuvres practiſed to miſlead Cornwallis, had the deſired effect, and gave Greene time to ſend forward his baggage. On the morning of the 13th, Greene wrote to Williams—"It is very evident the enemy intend to puſh us in croſſing the river. The night before laſt, as ſoon as I got your letter, I ſent off the baggage and ſtores, with orders to croſs as faſt as they got to the river. The North Carolina militia have all deſerted us, except about 80 men. Majors and captains are among the deſerters. You have the flower of the army, don't expoſe the men too much, leſt our ſituation ſhould grow more critical. Finding

5 gen-

gen. Lillington had delayed ſo much time, as to render 1781.
our junction critical, I gave him orders to file off to Croſs Creek. I thought his going there at this moment, might keep down the tories; and his reinforcement would be too inconſiderable to enable us to make a ſtand, and would only add to our difficulties in getting over the river." The next morning he ſent an expreſs Feb.
to him with this note—" 4 o'clock. Follow our route, 14.
as a diviſion of our force may encourage the enemy to puſh us further than they will dare to do, if we are together. I have not ſlept four hours ſince you left me, ſo great has been my ſolicitude to prepare for the worſt. I have great reaſon to believe, that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp the night before laſt."—Again —" 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The greater part of our waggons are over, and the troops are croſſing." The communication between Greene and Williams cloſed for the preſent with—" Irwin's ferry, ½ paſt 5 o'clock. All our troops are over, and the ſtage is clear. The infantry will croſs here, the horſe below. Major Hardman has poſted his party in readineſs on this [the ſouth] ſide, and the infantry and artillery are poſted on the other, and I am ready to receive and give you a hearty welcome." Greene had the pleaſure of ſeeing all the light army ſafe over that night, though in the day they had been puſhed forty miles by Cornwallis's army, whoſe van arrived juſt as the American rear had croſſed. The
next day Greene diſpatched the following letters—To 15.
governor Jefferſon of Virginia; " On the Dan river, almoſt fatigued to death, having had a retreat to conduct for upward of 200 miles, manœuvring conſtantly in the face of the enemy, to give time for the militia

to

1781. to turn out and get off our ſtores."—To baron Steuben; "Col. Williams, with the light infantry, lieut. col. Lee's legion, and the cavalry of the 1ſt and 3d regiments, has covered our retreat, and conducted with great propriety in the moſt critical ſituation. Cornwallis's movements are ſo rapid, that few or no militia join us. He marches from 20 to 30 miles in a day; and is organized to move with the ſame facility as a light infantry corps. Should he continue to puſh us, we muſt be finally ruined without reinforcements."—To gen. Waſhington; "The miſerable ſituation of the troops for want of clothing has rendered the march the moſt painful imaginable, many hundreds of the ſoldiers marking the ground with their bloody feet. The Britiſh army is much ſtronger than I had calculated upon in my laſt. I have not a ſhilling of money to obtain intelligence with, notwithſtanding my application to Maryland for that particular purpoſe. Our army is in good ſpirits, notwithſtanding their ſufferings and exceſſive fatigue." Some days after he informed baron Steuben—"We have been aſtoniſhingly ſucceſsful in our late, great, and fatiguing retreat, and have never loſt, in one inſtance, any thing of the leaſt value." It was with inexpreſſible grief and vexation, that the Britiſh diſcovered, on the 15th, that all their exertions had been in vain, and that all their hopes were fruſtrated. Lord Cornwallis however had this to conſole him, that there was no force in North Carolina to prevent the royaliſts from making good their promiſe of a general riſing in favor of Britiſh government.

During the tranſactions above related, gen. Marion defended himſelf with a few faithful militia in the ſwamps and

and moraſſes of the ſettlements near Charleſtown; and was frequently ſallying out from his hiding places, and enterpriſing ſomething in behalf of his country. Having mounted his followers, he infeſted the Britiſh outpoſts, intercepted their convoys, deſtroyed their ſtores, beat up their quarters, and ſo haraſſed them with alarms, that they were obliged to be alway upon their guard. On the other ſide, col. Balfour, who commanded at Charleſtown, projected an expedition againſt Wilmington in North Carolina. A ſmall naval force was equipped, and major Craig diſpatched on the ſervice with about 300 ſoldiers. The troops were landed about nine miles ſhort of Wilmington; and the town being abandoned by its defenſive force of about 150 men, was taken without reſiſtance. It has ſince been made a poſt of ſome ſtrength. 1781.

Lieut. col. Lee's legion recroſſed the Dan on the 18th, agreeable to the wiſh of gen. Greene, to watch the motions of Cornwallis's army; which, after having collected a quantity of proviſion, began on the morning of the 19th to move ſlowly toward Hillſborough. There his lordſhip erected the royal ſtandard, and by proclamation on the 20th, invited all his friends to repair to it. Greene being informed, that numbers had joined his lordſhip, and that the North Carolinians were repairing to him in ſhoals to make their ſubmiſſion, was apprehenſive, that unleſs ſome ſpirited meaſure was immediately taken, the whole country would be loſt to the American cauſe. He concluded therefore upon returning to North Carolina. The light troops recroſſed the Dan on the 21ſt, and on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with 600 Virginia militia under Feb. 20.

1781. under gen. Stevens. Greene, the more effectually to alarm Cornwallis and diſcourage the royaliſts, rode with his aid de camp twenty-one miles toward the enemy and within about fifteen of his lordſhip. The report of his being within that diſtance ſoon reached his lordſhip; who inferred that the American army was equally near. The light infantry hung round his lordſhip's quarters, while the main army advanced ſlowly, keeping in view the route to the upper parts of the country, the more effectually to avoid an action, and to form a junction with the militia of the Weſtern Waters under col. Campbell and others, who were expected in conſiderable numbers.

Lieut. col. Tarleton with the Britiſh legion was detached from Hillſborough, acroſs the Haw river, to major O'Neil's plantation, to protect a conſiderable number of royaliſts appointed to meet there on the 24th. Gen. Pickens and lieut. col. Lee, who had intelligence of Tarleton's movements, concerted meaſures to bring him to action. Lee's cavalry were to attack thoſe of Tarleton's command, while Pickens's militia diſperſed the collected royaliſts. Theſe happened to be paraded on the night of the 25th, in a long lane leading toward O'Neil's houſe. Lee led his cavalry into the lane, miſtaking the royaliſts for a part of Pickens's militia, which he ſuppoſed had arrived there before him. After he diſcovered the diſtinguiſhing red rag in their hats, he with great preſence of mind paſſed on, intending to leave them to the treatment of their countrymen under Pickens. When theſe came up, and a firing had commenced between them and the royaliſts, Lee with his cavalry returned and fell upon the latter; who not having

Feb. 25.

ſeen

ſeen Tarleton's dragoons, miſtook Lee's cavalry for 1781.
them. While laboring under this miſtake, he cut them down as they were making ardent proteſtations of loyalty, and aſſerting—"that they were the very beſt friends of the king." A horrid ſlaughter was made of them, between 2 and 300 being cut to pieces. Tarleton was refreſhing his legion about a mile from the ſcene. Upon hearing the alarm, he ordered his men to mount; precipitately recroſſed the Haw; and returned to Hillſborough. On his retreat, he alſo cut down ſeveral of the royaliſts as they were advancing to join the Britiſh army, miſtaking them for rebel militia of the country. This event, together with Greene's having recroſſed the Dan, broke all Cornwallis's meaſures. The tide of public ſentiment was now no longer in his favor. The recruiting ſervice declined and was ſtopped, which had it proceeded a fortnight longer, would have ſo ſtrengthened his lordſhip, that he muſt have held the country. The advocates for royal government were diſcouraged, and could not be induced to act with confidence. Conſiderable numbers, who were on their way to join his lordſhip, returned home to wait for further events.

On the 27th Lord Cornwallis retired from Hillſbo- Feb.
rough in two columns. The ſame day Lee's legion and 27.
Pickens's militia joined the main body of American light infantry, which was now conſiderably reinforced by volunteer horſe and riflemen from Virginia: and the whole corps paſſed the Haw (a branch of Cape Fear river) at night. Greene, with the main army, augmented by the North Carolina militia, croſſed it the next morning, and marched with all his force toward Allamance. In

1781. the evening it was diſcovered that Cornwallis, with the Britiſh army, was near it. The American light infantry encamped within about three miles of him, and Greene halted within ſeven, on a road leading immediately to his lordſhip's camp. Though Greene meant to aſſume the moſt confident appearance, he conſidered this ſituation extremely ineligible; as it was in a manner forcing his lordſhip to action, for which he himſelf was by no means prepared; but to retire precipitately would betray his apprehenſions of danger. He hoped that lord Cornwallis meant to retire, though reluctantly, to Croſs Creek on Cape Fear river. He therefore wiſhed only to wait on him, and partially to attack him on the march, for which the light troops were perfectly calculated. Greene's object was to wear away the time, till all the expected reinforcements ſhould arrive, and his army could be properly organized and prepared for action. On the 2d of March there was a ſlight ſkirmiſh in the morning, between a detachment under Tarleton and a part of the militia under Williams, within one mile of the Britiſh encampment.

After various movements of the American light infantry, lord Cornwallis taking the advantage of a thick
Mar. 6. fog on the 6th of March, marched early in the morning with his whole force, intending to ſurpriſe them and bring Greene to a general action: but the vigilance of the light troops diſappointed his lordſhip's firſt hope, and then gallantly defeated his ſecond. About eight o'clock the patroles of Williams's brigade brought intelligence of his lordſhip's being within two miles of his encampment, on the road leading to gen. Pickens's quarters, and from thence to Whitſell's mill, an important paſs

on

on Reedy Fork creek, immediately between the American light infantry and the main army. His lordſhip's deſigns were manifeſt, and no time was to be loſt. Diſpatches went off to apprize Pickens. He being gone to head quarters, and lieut. col. Lee, who was of that brigade and ſecond in command, having received information of his lordſhip's approach, retired before him. Col. Williams marched his brigade immediately for Whitſell's mill. The light ſkirmiſhing of ſome ſmall parties on the flanks of the Britiſh army, gained time for the removal of certain impediments, ſo that a junction of the two brigades was formed about a mile from the mill. Col. Williams then ordered col. Campbell, who had joined the light infantry with a number of riflemen from the Weſtern Waters, and lieut. col. Waſhington to move ſlow, and give time for the reſt of the troops to gain the paſs, if poſſible, without riſking their commands, which was effected. A covering party was formed of about 150 Virginia militia. The main body of the militia paſſed firſt after the horſes and waggons, and formed on the oppoſite ſide of the water; then the regular infantry under lieut. col. Howard; after that Lee's legion, infantry and cavalry. Campbell and Waſhington filed off about half a mile from the mill, croſſed and rejoined the reſt on the other ſide of the creek. Col. Webſter, with about 1000 Britiſh infantry, attacked the covering party, which gave him a briſk fire, and then retired over the fork. The Britiſh infantry followed with great precipitation, and met a ſevere ſalute from the fire of Campbell's rifles and Lee's legion infantry, which were judiciouſly diſpoſed for that purpoſe. Webſter being ſupported by the chaſſeurs and Heſſians, and 1781.

1781. Cornwallis planting his field pieces on commanding grounds, diſmayed the militia ſo manifeſtly, that Williams gave them orders to retire; and then followed with Howard's battalion, flanked by a company of Delaware infantry and the infantry of the legion, the whole covered by Waſhington's cavalry. The cavalry of the legion covered the baggage and ammunition waggons, which accidentally took a different route. Thus ended the deſigns of lord Cornwallis for that day, which was too far ſpent to admit of the execution of any important manœuvre. The loſs of the Americans was about 50 killed and wounded, that of the Britiſh probably much greater, as they twice ſuſtained the unexpected fire of the former. Col. Williams retired three miles, and formed to await the enemy; but as they did not advance he proceeded further, and encamped that evening about ſeven miles from the place of action. It may be thought worthy of being recorded, that Mr. Perry, ſergeant major, and Mr. Lunsford, quarter maſter ſergeant of the 3d American regiment of dragoons, two ſpirited young fellows, being ſeparately detached with each four dragoons, as parties of obſervation on the retreat; ſaw 16 or 18 horſemen of the Britiſh army in new levy uniforms ride into a farm-houſe yard in an irregular manner; and ſome of them diſmounted. They inſtantly joined their ſmall force, ſeized the occaſion, charged the horſemen, and in ſight of the Britiſh legion, which was on the contrary ſide of the fence, cut every man down, and then retired without a ſcar.

While Greene was really unequal to even defenſive operations, and waited to have his army ſtrengthened, he lay for ſeven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp:

camp: but he took a new poſition every night; and 1781.
kept it as a profound ſecret with himſelf where the next was to be; ſo that his lordſhip could not gain intelligence of his ſituation in time to avail himſelf of it. During theſe manœuvres Greene was often obliged to aſk bread of the common ſoldiers, having none of his own. Cornwallis made a ſtroke at him twice, but miſſed his aim. At length Greene was reinforced, with another brigade of militia from Virginia under gen. Lawſon, and two from North Carolina under gens. Butler and Eaton, and 400 regulars raiſed for 18 months: this enabled him to diſſolve the conſtitution of the light army on the 10th. The ſame day he wrote to gov. Mar.
Jefferſon—"Hitherto I have been obliged to practiſe 10.
that by fineſſe, which I dared not to attempt by force. I know the people have been in anxious ſuſpenſe, waiting the event of a general action: but be the conſequence of cenſure what it may, nothing ſhall hurry me into a meaſure, that is not ſuggeſted by prudence, or connects not with it the intereſt of the ſouthern department."

Lord Cornwallis not immediately urging his plan of bringing on a general action, but moving toward New Garden, alias the Quaker meeting-houſe, gave Greene the opportunity of arranging his army a-new, and of making every preparation for an engagement. This he now determined to venture upon, as he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong; and foreſaw that by delaying any time he ſhould probably be weakened through the withdrawment of many militia men; beſide, there would be a great difficulty of ſubſiſting long in the field in ſo exhauſted a country. On the 14th he marched his army to Guildford court-houſe, and took a poſition within

1781. eight miles of Cornwallis's encampment. His force conſiſted of Huger's brigade of Virginia continentals, 778 preſent and fit for duty; of Williams's Maryland brigade and Delawares, 630; and of the infantry of Lee's partizan legion, 82—total of continental regulars, 1490; beſides theſe there were 1060 militia from North Carolina, and 1693 from Virginia, in all 2753. The whole army conſiſted of 4243 foot, and of 161 cavalry, including Waſhington's light dragoons 86, and of Lee's legion 75. Before the engagement began, the marquis of Bretagney joined the army with about 40 horſe, very few accoutred as horſemen, but mounted as infantry. On the morning of the 15th the Americans were ſupplied with proviſions, and a gill of rum per man; and orders were iſſued for the whole to be in perfect readineſs for action.

Lord Cornwallis, being convinced from gen. Greene's movements that he intended to venture an engagement, ſent off his baggage under a proper eſcort on the 14th; and the next morning at day break, marched with the remainder of his army, amounting to about 2400 men, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories, either to meet Greene on the way, or to attack him in his encampment. By this, Greene's deſign of attacking his lordſhip was anticipated. About three miles from the American army, the Britiſh advance guard under Tarleton fell in with Lee's legion, Campbell and Lynch's riflemen. Lee's dragoons killed about fifty of Tarleton's, and the riflemen are thought to have killed and wounded more than 100 infantry. This ſkirmiſh gave Greene time to form his army, within about a mile and a quarter of Guilford court-houſe. The Britiſh advanced

Mar. 15.

through

through a field beyond which was a fence and a thick wood. In the ſkirts of this wood next to the field, the firſt American line was drawn up, conſiſting of the North Carolina militia. The ſecond line behind that was formed of the Virginia militia. The third and laſt line conſiſted of the Maryland and Virginia continentals under Huger and Williams. Waſhington with his cavalry, and a corps of Delaware light infantry and ſome riflemen under col. Lynch, covered the right flank; and Lee with his legion and ſome riflemen under col. Campbell, the left. The whole were ſo ſtrongly poſted, that Greene was fearful leſt Cornwallis ſhould not attack them in front, but change his poſition and fall upon their flanks. The front line was only in ſight; the two others being covered by the wood in which they were poſted. The Americans had two pieces of cannon in the field before them. After a briſk cannonade between them and the Britiſh, which laſted from about half an hour after one till two, the latter advanced in three columns, the Heſſians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Webſter's brigade on the left. The whole moved on toward the North Carolinians, who waited the attack, until the enemy got within 140 yards, when part of them fired once, while a great number ran away without firing or being fired upon. All the exertions of their officers to rally them were ineffectual. They deſerted the moſt advantageous poſt Greene ever ſaw, and let in the enemy upon the ſecond line compoſed of the Virginia militia under Stevens. He had the addreſs to prevent his brigade from receiving any bad impreſſions from the retreating North Carolinians, by giving out that they had orders to retire after diſcharging their 1781.

1781. pieces. To cheriſh this idea he ordered his men to open their files to favor their paſſage. The Virginians behaved much better than the Carolinians, did great execution, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. Stevens had poſted forty riflemen at equal diſtances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to ſhoot every man who ſhould leave his poſt. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops were laſt engaged, and fought with great ſpirit. The conteſt was long and ſevere: but the Britiſh carried their point by ſuperior diſcipline. They broke the ſecond Maryland regiment, turned the American left flank, and got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, ſo that he thought it adviſable to order a retreat. About this time Waſhington made a charge with the horſe on a part of the brigade of Britiſh guards, and the firſt regiment of Marylanders following the horſe with their bayonets, near the whole of the party fell a ſacrifice. Huger with the Virginia brigade was the laſt that engaged; and gave the enemy a check. After a hard battle of near two hours, the Americans retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork, and croſſed the river, about three miles from the field of action. They halted, drew up till they had collected moſt of the ſtragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's Iron Works ten miles diſtant from Guildford. Greene loſt his artillery (the two ſix pounders that Morgan had lately recovered, with two others) and two ammunition waggons, the greateſt part of the horſes being killed before the retreat began.

This

This victory coſt the Britiſh dear. Their killed and wounded exceeded 600 men, beſide officers. The guards loſt col. Stuart, with the captains Schutz, Maynard and Goodriche, beſide ſubalterns. Col. Webſter, a brave experienced and diſtinguiſhed officer, died of his wounds to the regret of the royal army. Brigadier generals O'Hara and Howard, and col. Tarleton, with ſeveral other officers, were wounded. 1781.

About 300 of the continentals and 100 of the Virginia militia were killed and wounded, among the former was major Anderſon of the Maryland line, a moſt valuable officer. Among the latter was Huger, beſide Stevens already mentioned. Of the North Carolina militia ſix were killed and three wounded, and 552 miſſing. Of the Virginia militia 294 were miſſing. Few of the miſſing were made priſoners. They returned home, and never rejoined the camp; ſo that gen. Greene's army ſuſtained a greater diminution than the Britiſh. It was however ſoon apparent, that the advantages of the engagement were on his ſide.

Though lord Cornwallis iſſued out a proclamation three days after the battle, ſetting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal ſubjects to ſtand forth and take an active part in reſtoring good government, and offering pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted; yet on the 19th he decamped, abandoning all his boaſted advantages, and his hoſpital at the Quaker meeting-houſe, containing between 70 and 80 wounded Britiſh officers and ſoldiers. He alſo left behind him all the wounded Americans taken on the 15th, and retreated toward Croſs Creek. Greene expected that he would have advanced, and therefore had pre- Mar. 18.

1781. prepared for another action; but upon hearing that his lordſhip was attempting to avoid it, he purſued him the next day with all poſſible expedition. Greene having no means of providing for the wounded of his own and the Britiſh forces, wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the quaker perſuaſion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a quaker, and obſerved that an opportunity offered for the exerciſe of their humanity, without confining themſelves to either party, by taking care of the wounded both Britiſh and Americans, who muſt otherwiſe periſh. His recommendations and arguments prevailed, and the quakers ſupplied the hoſpitals with all that was wanting till the ſick and wounded recovered.

So great was the avidity of the Americans to renew the conflict with Cornwallis, that notwithſtanding the weather was very wet and the roads deep, they marched almoſt conſtantly without any regular ſupply of provi-
Mar. ſions. On the morning of the 28th, they arrived at
28. Ramſay's mills on Deep river, a ſtrong poſition which his lordſhip evacuated a few hours before, by croſſing the river on a bridge erected for that purpoſe. Evident ſigns of precipitation were found in and about his lordſhip's encampment. Several of the dead were left on the ground unburied. Beef in quarters was found in the ſlaughter pen on which the hungry continentals fed greedily; but that not being ſufficient to allay their keen appetites, they eat without a murmur the garbage which was meant for the buzzards *. Cornwallis had now fairly the ſtart of Greene, and was in a ſituation to maintain his advantage. He was on the ſouth ſide of Deep

* Col. O. H. Williams.

river,

river, with Cape Fear on his left, and ſupplies for his army in front: whereas Greene was too far advanced to expect any immediate ſuccour from the country behind him; he was therefore under the neceſſity of giving up the purſuit *. Nothing but blood and ſlaughter has prevailed among the whigs and tories in that part of the country which has been the ſcene of the late tranſactions, and their inveteracy againſt each other muſt depopulate it if continued. 1781.

Here let us cloſe our account of the operations under lord Cornwallis and gen. Greene, and enter upon thoſe that relate to Virginia.

General Arnold, with near 50 ſail of veſſels, arrived in the Cheſapeak by the end of December. He landed, with about 1500 men and a few light horſe, 15 miles below Richmond, and marched into that town about 12 o'clock on the 5th of January. The public ſtores and buildings were deſtroyed; together with the rope walk, and the rum and ſalt in the merchants hands. The troops went on eight miles to deſtroy the foundery and magazine at Weſt-Ham; but the arms and ammunition had been removed to Mancheſter, in Powhatan county, where the governor was, with baron Steuben, who had arrived from the northward by the beginning of December. The next day at noon they retreated the ſame way they came; with the deſign of committing thoſe deſtructions in other places, that might diſable the ſtate as far poſſible from making effectual oppoſition to Jan. 5.

* The advantage of col. O. H. Williams's official papers, of private letters, and of ſubſequent converſation with gen. Greene, for the purpoſe of information, has occaſioned a variation in divers parts of the above narrative from Dr. Ramſay and others.

the

1781. the plans of the Britiſh miniſtry. They afterward landed on the 15th and marched to Smithfield; and from thence they proceeded to Portſmouth by land. Here Arnold took poſt, and began to fortify by the 20th, as the militia were collecting apace, under baron Steuben, generals Nelſon, Weedon and Muhlenburgh: but it was the unhappineſs of the ſtate to be deſtitute of arms, and (by bad management) of almoſt every thing elſe neceſſary for defence. Gen. Waſhington laid a plan for catching Arnold and his detachment, which was ſerviceable, though unſucceſsful in the main point. The general was the more eager in it, having been confirmed by letters found on board captured veſſels, in the intelligence he had before received of a Britiſh project, to make a laſting eſtabliſhment in Virginia. Four ſhips
Jan. of the Britiſh fleet, which had been lying for ſome time
22. in Gardener's-bay, ſailed on the 22d as far eaſtward as Narraganſet-bay. A gale of wind and a very thick ſnow coming on at night, the Culloden was totally loſt, and the Bedford diſmaſted, each carrying 74 guns. No ſooner did the general receive a certain account of the ſame, than he put in motion, under the command of the marquis de la Fayette, 1200 light infantry, as large a part of his ſmall force as he could, with prudence, detach to Virginia. He at the ſame time intimated to count de Rochambeau the poſſibility and importance of improving the opportunity in an attempt upon Arnold; and requeſted of him and the chevalier d'Eſtouches (to whom the command of the French fleet had devolved upon the death of adm. Ternay) to ſend the whole fleet, and a detachment of their land force to the Cheſapeak. Inſtead of the whole, a part only of the fleet

was

was ſent; the Eveillie a 64 gun ſhip, and two frigates, 1781.
under the command of Monſ. Tilly. They ſailed from Newport on the 9th of February, with orders to go to the Cheſapeak, and attempt the deſtruction of the Britiſh ſhips there, and the frigates that protected them. They returned on the 25th without accompliſhing the object of their miſſion, through the precaution taken by the enemy. They however took or deſtroyed ten veſſels, and brought to Newport the Romulus of 44 guns, which they captured at the entrance of the bay. Waſhington, deſirous of ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy in Virginia, proceeded to Newport, that he might diſcourſe with the French commanders on the meaſures proper to be purſued. He went firſt on board d'Eſtouches' ſhip in the forenoon of March the 6th, where Rochambeau met him. It was agreed that d'Eſtouches ſhould ſail immediately; and that Rochambeau ſhould ſend on board the men of war, a detachment of the army under the baron de Viomeuil. After ſpending an hour or two on board, Waſhington and Rochambeau landed at Newport about one o'clock. The neceſſary meaſures were taken to expedite the fleet: but inſtead of ſailing the next day when the wind was as favorable for the French, and as adverſe to the Britiſh as it could blow, they were delayed 24 hours for want Mar.
of ſupplies. They ſailed on Thurſday evening the 8th 8.
of March. They were followed on the Saturday by the Britiſh from Gardener's bay under adm. Arbuthnot, who made ſuch expedition as to intercept them off Cape Henry on the 16th. The two fleets were well poiſed in 16.
point of ſtrength, the ſuperiority of a few guns on the ſide of the Britiſh, being counterbalanced by the greater

number

1781. number of men on the other. The line was compoſed of eight ſhips on each ſide, including the Romulus of 44 guns in the French, and the Adamant of 50 in the Britiſh. A partial engagement took place. Each ſide claimed the advantage: but the French abandoned their deſign of ſuccouring Virginia, and returned to Newport on the 26th. Had they gained the Cheſapeak before overtaken by the Britiſh, Waſhington is of opinion, that the plan againſt Arnold could not have failed of ſucceſs. The return of the French diſconcerted the marquis de la Fayette. On his arrival at Annapolis in Maryland, he left his troops there, and haſtened down the Cheſapeak to get a body of militia in readineſs for co-operation: but upon hearing what had taken place, he marched back with his detachment to the Head of Elk.

Sir Henry Clinton, to ſupport the ſouthern operations and increaſe their ſucceſs, forwarded a convoy to the Cheſapeak, with about 2000 choice troops on board under gen. Phillips, whom he appointed to the chief
Mar. command in Virginia. They arrived on the 25th of
25. March. Among the greateſt misfortunes to the American cauſe occaſioned by the invaſion of this ſtate, muſt be reckoned the obſtructions it has thrown on every preparation for the ſupport of the ſouthern army. It has kept back the raiſing of recruits and every ſupply.

Certain acts and concerns of congreſs remain to be related.

The capture of Mr. Laurens by the Britiſh made it neceſſary for congreſs to appoint another gentleman to ſupply his place. They therefore commiſſioned Mr. John Adams, on the 1ſt of January, to be their miniſter

pleni-

plenipotentiary to the States General of the Dutch United Provinces. He was alſo empowered to negotiate a loan of money among the Hollanders; and in confidence of his ſucceſs they directed, on the 3d of January, bills of exchange to be drawn upon him at ſix months ſight. On the 3d of February they agreed—"That it be recommended to the ſeveral ſtates, as indiſpenſably neceſſary, that they veſt a power in congreſs, to levy for the uſe of the united ſtates, a duty of five per cent. ad valorem, at the time and place of importation, upon all goods and merchandiſes of foreign growth and manufactures, which may be imported into any of the ſaid ſtates from any foreign port, iſland or plantation, after the 1ſt day of May, 1781, except arms, ammunition, clothing, and other articles imported on account of the united ſtates, or any of them; and except wool cards and cotton cards, and wire for making them; and alſo except ſalt during the war:—Alſo a like duty of five per cent. on all prizes and prize goods, condemned in the court of admiralty of any of theſe ſtates as lawful prize:—That the money ariſing from the ſaid duties be appropriated to the diſcharge of the principal and intereſt of the debts already contracted, or which may be contracted, on the faith of the united ſtates, for ſupporting the preſent war:—That the ſaid duties be continued until the ſaid debts ſhall be fully and finally diſcharged." Some gentlemen object to the recommendation, or at leaſt a compliance with it, and ſay—"Drawing money inſenſibly from the people by impoſts may be a favorite ſcheme in monarchies and ariſtocracies; but in republican governments, ſuch as are eſtabliſhed in America, is inexpedient, if not dangerous. When money is drawn from the people inſenſibly,

1781. Feb. 3.

1781. ſenſibly, they are leſs attentive to abuſes in the expenditure: but when they are called upon for taxes and feel the burden of them, they are more watchful to ſee that they are properly applied, and to prevent the rulers from bribing the people with their own money, and ſubverting the public liberty by the means put into their hands for ſecuring and defending it." It will be long before the ſeveral ſtates can be prevailed upon to veſt congreſs with the deſired power.

Congreſs on the 6th of February, ordered that the drawing of the fourth and laſt claſs of the united ſtates lottery ſhould begin on the 2d of April. Through the amazing depreciation of the paper currency, the whole will turn out a ſimple piece of buſineſs, and diſappoint the original hopes both of the fortunate adventurers and of congreſs.

Feb. 20. They proceeded by ballot to the election of a ſuperintendant of finance, to examine into the ſtate of the public debts, expenditures, and revenue: to digeſt and report plans for improving and regulating the finances, and for eſtabliſhing order and œconomy in the expenditure of the public money: and to the exerciſe of many other powers neceſſary to complete the financier. Robert Morris eſq; of Philadelphia was unanimouſly elected.

27. They paſſed a commendatory reſolution reſpecting capt. John Paul Jones; and further reſolved, that Dr. Franklin ſhould acquaint his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that his majeſty's offer of adorning capt. Jones with the croſs of military merit was highly acceptable to congreſs. The ſmall ſquadron which the captain commanded in 1779, was fitted out at the expence of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who honored him with a French commiſſion.

Monſ.

Monſ. de Sartine, the miniſter of the marine, requeſted Dr. Franklin to ſtrengthen the ſquadron by ordering the Alliance to join it, which was immediately done. 1781.

On the 12th of February the Maryland delegates laid before congreſs an act of their ſtate, empowering them to ſubſcribe and ratify the articles of confederation. The 1ſt of March was afterward fixed upon for their doing it. Maryland having no vacant weſtern territory, contended with great juſtice, that the unappropriated weſtern country ſhould be the common property of the union, and pledged as a fund for ſinking the continental debt; and declined acceding to the confederation till ſome ſatisfaction ſhould be given upon that ſubject. But congreſs having recommended it to the ſtates, claiming ſuch country, to remove the only obſtacle to a final ratification; and then earneſtly requeſted the legiſlature of Maryland to empower their delegates, they accordingly did ſo on the 30th of laſt January. They concurred in the meaſure, as well from a deſire to perpetuate and ſtrengthen the union, as from a confidence in the juſtice and generoſity of the larger ſtates, and that ſuperior to local intereſts, they would conſent to ſuch arrangements of the unappropriated lands, included in their reſpective charters, as good policy required, and the great exertions of their own ſtate in the common cauſe had ſo highly deſerved. When the 1ſt of March was arrived, the New York delegates, by virtue of the powers with which their legiſlature had intruſted them, proceeded by an official act in congreſs to limit and reſtrict the boundaries of that ſtate, and to relinquiſh all right, juriſdiction and claim, to all lands to the northward and weſtward of the ſame, to be diſpoſed of as the congreſs of the confe- Mar. 1.

1781. derated ſtates ſhould direct. The Maryland delegates then proceeded to ſign and ratify the articles of confederation. This important event has been communicated to the executives of the ſeveral ſtates; and the American miniſters in Europe have been ordered to notify it to the reſpective courts at which they reſide.

Though a longer delay on the part of Maryland might have been productive of bad conſequences, yet there are ſeveral members of congreſs, who are ſenſible of its having been highly beneficial upon many occaſions. As ſeven ſtates were a majority, whenever that number met it was conſidered as the repreſentative body of the thirteen; and if four out of the ſeven * agreed, it paſſed for the voice of the United States, even in thoſe caſes, which by the confederation required the concurrence of nine ſtates. The want of ſuch concurrence, had the confederation been perfected at a very early date, would have prevented the execution of much buſineſs of the higheſt importance.

16. Congreſs reſolved—"That it be, and hereby is, recommended to the ſeveral ſtates, to amend their laws making the bills of credit emitted, under the authority of congreſs, a legal tender, ſo that ſuch bills ſhall not be a tender in any other manner than at their current value compared with gold and ſilver." The ſame day they reſolved—"That the ſtates be immediately called upon to furniſh for the public expences, and for carrying on the war, their proportion of one million five hundred

* When congreſs confirmed the ſentence of the court martial on general Lee, it was by a vote of four out of eleven preſent. See Vol. III. p. 222.

thouſand

thouſand dollars quarterly, the firſt quarterly payment to be made on the 1ſt day of June next." Neither of theſe reſolves will be ſufficiently productive. 1781.

This ſhall cloſe with an extract from a letter of gen. Waſhington, written the beginning of April—" I give it deciſively as my opinion, that without a foreign loan our preſent force, which is but the remnant of an army, cannot be kept together this campaign, much leſs will it be increaſed and in readineſs for another. If France delays a timely and powerful aid in the critical poſture of our affairs, it will avail us nothing ſhould ſhe attempt it hereafter. We are at this hour ſuſpended in the balance: we cannot tranſport the proviſions from the ſtates in which they are aſſeſſed, to the army, becauſe we cannot pay the teamſters, who will no longer work for certificates.—In a word, we are at the end of our tether, and now or never our deliverance muſt come."

LETTER III.

Rotterdam, May 5, 1781.

FRIEND G.

AS ſoon as the rupture between Great Britain and Holland was known at Verſailles, the king gave immediate orders that all the Dutch veſſels in any of the French ports ſhould be made acquainted with it; and

1781. accordingly a circular letter was written by the marquis de Caſtries on the 25th of laſt December, and ſent to the ſeveral ports. The firſt material capture made by the Britiſh, after the hoſtile manifeſto againſt the Dutch, was that of the Rotterdam of 50 guns and 300 men belonging to the ſtates general, by the Warwick, capt. Elphinſtone, on the 5th of January.

Jan. 5.

On the 9th the Dutch council of ſtate propoſed, that the marine of the republic ſhould conſiſt of 94 ſhips and armed veſſels, and 18,430 ſeamen. There were to be 11 ſhips of the line, 15 of 50 guns and 2 of 40. Three days after, the ſtates general publiſhed a placart, granting letters of marque againſt the Britiſh. This was followed after a time by an anſwer to the Britiſh manifeſto.

Notwithſtanding the neceſſary increaſe of national expences in Great Britain by the Dutch war, yet toward the end of January, the houſe of commons hearkened to the calls of humanity, and in conſequence of different petitions, voted for the relief of the ſufferers by the hurricane at Barbadoes 80,000l. and at Jamaica 40,000l.

A ſecond attempt has been made on the Iſle of Jerſey. The baron de Rullecourt, at the head of about 2000 men, conducted it. By the badneſs of the weather near half his troops were driven back to France, and never joined him. He at length however made his way with difficulty, through the rocks of la Roque-Platte; and landed a number in the dark, three miles from St. Helier, the capital of the iſland; though five veſſels were loſt, and 200 of his men periſhed. A ſmall party of militia, meant for the guard of a redoubt in the place, were ſeized aſleep by the enemy, who were thus, for ſeveral hours, on the iſland without an alarm's being

given. The baron, leaving about 120 men in the re- 1781.
doubt, marched to St. Helier. He ſecured the avenues 6.
of the town, ſurpriſed the guards in the dark, and poſ-
ſeſſed the market place without noiſe. The inhabitants
were aſtoniſhed at break of day, on finding themſelves
in the hands of an enemy. Major Corbet, the deputy
governor, with the magiſtrates and principal people,
being brought priſoners to the court-houſe, the French
commander wrote terms of capitulation, which he pro-
poſed to have ſigned; and by which the iſland was to
be ſurrendered to France, and the troops to lay down
their arms and be ſent to Great Britain. It was in vain
remonſtrated, that no act of the lieut. governor's could
have the ſmalleſt validity in his preſent ſituation. Rulle-
court was peremptory, and Corbet too inadvertently
ſigned. The French commander then ſummoned Eli-
zabeth caſtle under the terms of the capitulation.
Capts. Aylward and Mulcaſter, having eſcaped thither
on the firſt alarm, and being now in a degree prepared
againſt a ſudden attack, rejected the ſummons, and re-
fuſed paying the ſmalleſt regard to the capitulation, or
any orders iſſued by the lieut. governor in the preſent
circumſtances. The French placing Corbet in their
front, advanced toward the gate, but were fired upon
with ſuch vigor from the caſtle, that they ſoon made the
beſt of their way back to the town for ſhelter.

Mean while the alarm extended, and the neareſt troops
and militia advanced toward the point of danger, and
formed on the heights near the town under major
Pierſon, who inſtantly ſecured a hill of great advantage,
which the enemy had overlooked. Rullecourt ſent to
the major, requiring his compliance with the terms of

1781. the capitulation; and received for anſwer, "that if he and his troops did not lay down their arms within twenty minutes, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, at the expiration of that time, they might be certain of an attack." Pierſon was punctual to his word; and made an aſſault on the town in all acceſſible parts with ſuch impetuoſity, that the enemy were driven rapidly upon the centre of their force in the market place, where the action was ſoon decided; for Rullecourt being mortally wounded, the next in command ſeeing the hopeleſſneſs of their ſituation, requeſted the lieut. governor to reſume his authority, and to accept of their ſurrender as priſoners of war. The ſatisfaction ariſing from ſo ſudden a deliverance, and ſo brave an exertion, was damped by the fall of major Pierſon, who was ſhot through the heart in the inſtant of victory. The extraordinary military abilities diſplayed by ſo young an officer (for he was only five and twenty) rendered his death an object of general regret. During the engagement the redoubt was retaken with fixed bayonets, and without firing a ſhot, by the grenadiers of the 83d regiment. Thus the whole French party, amounting to near 800, were either killed or taken.

On the 24th of January, lord George Gordon was privately taken from the Tower to Weſtminſter-hall, arraigned, and ordered to prepare for trial on Monday

Feb. 5. the 5th of February. When he came to be tried, though the crowd was very large, order was obſerved, and there was no miſchief or violence. About five the next morning he was acquitted. On the news of his acquittal, there were rejoicings and illuminations at Glaſgow, Paiſley, Dunbar, Montroſe, Brechin, and a

great number of other towns and villages in Scotland. 1781.
The proteſtant aſſociation at Glaſgow made a ſubſcription of ſeveral hundred pounds, toward defraying his lordſhip's expences. It has been ſuggeſted, that government did not wiſh to convict his lordſhip for fear of offending too many of the Scots.

The garriſon and inhabitants of Gibraltar, having received no ſupplies of proviſion from Great Britain ſince the beginning of the preceding year, nor from the Barbary ſhores, nor the moſt diſtant coaſts of Africa, were reduced to extreme diſtreſs. The governor, ever ſince October, made a reduction of a quarter of a pound from each man's daily allowance of bread. Their meat was reduced to a pound and a half in the week, and at length was ſcarcely eatable. The inhabitants had to pay for bad ſhip biſcuit, full of worms, a ſhilling a pound; the ſame for flour in no better condition; eighteen pence for ſalt, the ſweepings of ſhips bottoms and ſtore-houſes; half a crown for old Iriſh ſalt butter; and the ſame for the worſt brown ſugar. When the arrival of the veſſels from the Mediterranean opened a market for freſh proviſions, turkies ſold for 3l. 12s. a piece; ſucking pigs at two guineas; ducks at half a guinea; and ſmall hens at nine ſhillings. A guinea was refuſed for a calf's pluck; and one pound ſeven ſhillings for an ox-head. The intereſt and honor of Great Britain were deeply engaged in the timely relief of that fortreſs. It was accordingly one of the firſt objects of government in the commencement of the year; and the grand fleet under the conduct of adms. Darby, Digby, and Sir J. Lockhart Roſs, was fitted out early for this ſervice: but only 28 ſail of the line could be ſpared. The French

1781. had, at the ſame time, a fleet little inferior either in number or force, nearly ready for ſea at Breſt.

Mar. 13. The Britiſh fleet ſailed with the great Eaſt and Weſt India convoys: but met with a delay on the coaſt of Ireland, in waiting for the victuallers from Corke, which were to proceed with them to Gibraltar. The Eaſt and Weſt India convoys having proceeded on their reſpective voyages, the Britiſh fleet with 97 tranſports, ſtoreſhips and victuallers, arrived off Cadiz before the middle of April. Don Cordova with the Spaniſh fleet, had put into the harbour; and adm. Darby having explored the ſame, forwarded the convoy to Gibraltar, with ſome men of war and frigates to cover them, while he cruiſed with the main body of the fleet off the Streights mouth to watch the enemy. The Spaniards had been for ſome time employed in conſtructing a number of gun and bomb boats. The gun boats carried each a long 26 pounder, which threw ſhot further than any ſhip's guns could reach. This force was rendered ſtill more dangerous by the addition of the bomb boats upon a ſimilar conſtruction. With theſe they cannonaded and bombarded the Britiſh ſhips every morning, till the wind, at its ſtated hour, began to ſpring up, when they fled and were purſued in vain. But they failed in their grand object, and no material damage was done to any part of the ſhipping.

April 12.

Nothing could be more grievous to Spain than this relief. She ſeems to have ſet her heart ſo entirely on the recovery of Gibraltar, as not to have had another object in the war. The whole naval and military force of the kingdom, and its reſources of every ſort, appear to have been directed mainly to that ſingle point. Theſe various

various powers were called into action, and the unfortu- 1781.
nate town, with its miſerable inhabitants, were the victims of her indignation. One hundred and ſeventy pieces of cannon, of the heavieſt metal, and eighty mortars, diſgorged their tremendous torrents of fire all at once upon that narrow ſpot. This dreadful cannonade and bombardment was continued night and day, for a conſiderable time, without intermiſſion. Nothing could be more ſplendidly magnificent, or dreadfully ſublime, than the view and report of this tremendous ſcene, to thoſe who obſerved them from the neighbouring hills of Barbary and Spain during the night; eſpecially in the beginning, when the cannonade of the enemy being returned by gen. Elliot, with ſtill ſuperior power and greater fierceneſs, the whole rock ſeemed to vomit out fire, and all diſtinction of parts was loſt in flame and ſmoke. The artillery officers and engineers in the garriſon computed, that during more than three weeks from the firſt attack, the Spaniards continued regularly to expend, at leaſt, a thouſand barrels of gunpowder, of a hundred weight each, and to fire from four to five thouſand ſhot and ſhells, in every 24 hours upon the fortreſs. After diſcharging 75,000 ſhot, and 25,000 ſhells in this courſe of firing, it was lowered to about 600 of both in the 24 hours.

When admiral Rodney returned from New York to St. Lucie toward the cloſe of the laſt year, the reports of the diſmantled ſtate of St. Vincent through the hurricane, induced him and gen. Vaughan to undertake an expedition for the recovery of that iſland: but after landing a number of troops with the marines, on the 16th of December, and continuing a day on the iſland, the French

1781. French were found in ſuch force, and their works in ſuch condition, that the commanders were obliged to reimbark the troops without venturing upon an attack.

Not much more than a month after this attempt, the commanders, in conſequence of inſtructions from Great Britain, directed their views to the reduction of the Dutch iſland St. Euſtatia. This iſland, though barren and contemptible in itſelf, had long been the ſeat of a lucrative and prodigious commerce; and might be conſidered as the grand free port of the Weſt Indies and America, and as a general market and magazine to all nations. Its richeſt harveſts however, were during the ſeaſons of warfare among its neighbours, owing to its neutrality and ſituation with its unbounded and unclogged freedom of trade. The iſland is a natural fortification; and has but one landing place, which may be eaſily rendered impracticable to an enemy. The inhabitants, though not very numerous, included a portion of the natives of almoſt all trading countries.

Feb. 3. The Britiſh fleet and army appeared before and ſurrounded St. Euſtatia with a great force. Rodney and Vaughan ſent a peremptory ſummons to the governor, to ſurrender the iſland and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a threat, that if any reſiſtance was made he muſt abide the conſequences. Mr. de Graaff, totally ignorant of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, could ſcarcely believe the officer, who delivered the ſummons, to be ſerious. But he returned for anſwer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence, he muſt of neceſſity ſurrender, only recommending the town and inhabitants to the clemency of the Britiſh commanders. The wealth of the place excited

excited the aſtoniſhment of the conquerors. The whole iſland ſeemed to be one vaſt magazine. All the ſtore-houſes were filled with various commodities; and the very beach was covered with hogſheads of ſugar and tobacco. The value was eſtimated conſiderably above three millions ſterling. But this was only a part; for above 150 veſſels of all denominations, many of them richly laden, were captured in the bay, excluſive of a Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five ſmaller. 1781.

The neighbouring ſmall iſles of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in the ſame manner; and Rodney being informed, that a fleet of about 30 large ſhips, richly laden with ſugar and other Weſt India commodities, had ſailed from Euſtatia for Holland juſt before his arrival, under convoy of a flag ſhip of 60 guns, he diſpatched the Monarch and Panther with the Sybil frigate, in purſuit of them. Theſe ſoon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral, refuſing to ſtrike his colours, and all remonſtrances proving ineffectual, a ſhort engagement took place between his ſhip the Mars and the Monarch. He died bravely in defence of his ſhip; when ſhe inſtantly ſtruck, and the whole convoy was taken.

This is one of the ſevereſt blows that Holland could have received. The Dutch Weſt India company, with the magiſtracy and citizens of Amſterdam, are great ſufferers upon the occaſion. But the greateſt weight of the calamity ſeems to have fallen on the Britiſh merchants, who confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in ſome acts of parliament made to encourage their bringing their property from the iſlands lately taken by the French, had accumulated a great quantity of Weſt India

1781. India produce, as well as European goods, in the place: for all the property was indiſcriminately ſeized, inventoried, and declared to be confiſcated.

The keeping of Dutch colours flying at Euſtatia, rendered it for ſome time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American veſſels, a conſiderable number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors without trouble.

The indiſcriminate ſeizure and confiſcation of property in the iſland, induced the merchants of St. Chriſtopher (or St. Kitt's) to preſent two memorials to adm. Rodney and gen. Vaughan, for themſelves, and as agents and factors for many of the moſt commercial houſes in Great Britain and Ireland. They ſtated, that their connections with St. Euſtatia, and the property they had lodged there, were all in purſuance to, and under the ſanction of repeated acts of the Britiſh parliament; and that their commerce had beſide been entirely founded on the fair principles of merchandiſe, and conducted according to the rules and maxims adopted by all trading nations. The ſecond memorial was carried and delivered to Rodney by Mr. Glanville the 11th of March. The admiral in a line to him anſwered, that "their effects at St. Euſtatius could only be lodged as a depoſit to ſupply the neceſſities of their king and their country's enemies. The iſland was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it ſhall be treated." Mr. Glanville made a ſenſible reply on the 13th of March, and obſerved—"That if the king's enemies were ſupplied, by the trade of his ſubjects through St. Euſtatius, they were likewiſe ſupplied, through the ſame channel,

by

by the ſale of prizes captured by his majeſty's ſhips of war. 1781.
The one fact is as notorious as the other, and equally criminal."

After the ſurrender of Euſtatia, the Jews who were numerous and wealthy were the firſt ſufferers. Several of them were torn from their habitations with many indignities, and baniſhed without knowing the place of their deſtination; and were, in that ſtate of wretchedneſs which followed the ſeizure of their property, tranſported as outlaws, and landed at St. Kitt's. The aſſembly, to their great honor, inſtantly paſſed an act for their preſent relief and future proviſion, until they ſhould have time to recover from their calamitous ſituation. The Jews were ſoon followed by the Americans, ſome of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part which they had taken in ſupport of the Britiſh cauſe. Theſe alſo were ſent to St. Kitt's, in much the ſame ſtate with the former; and were received and entertained with the ſame humanity and liberality by the people and legiſlature of that iſland. The French merchants and traders were next baniſhed; and at length the Amſterdammers met with the ſame fate. Mean while public ſales were advertiſed, invitation given, and protection afforded to purchaſers of all nations and claſſes; and the iſland exhibited one of the greateſt auctions that ever was opened in the univerſe. Never was a better market for buyers. The goods were ſold for a trifling proportion of their value; and by report, the French agents made the greateſt and moſt lucrative purchaſes. Moſt of the goods were conveyed to French and Daniſh iſlands; and left to find their way to thoſe enemies, for having ſupplied whom, in the ordinary commerce,

1781. commerce, Euſtatia ſuffered ſo ſeverely. This whole buſineſs, from beginning to end, has brought upon Great Britain the odium of all Europe.

A ſquadron of privateers, moſtly belonging to Briſtol, upon hearing of the rupture with Holland, boldly entered the rivers of Demarara and Iſſequibo, and with no ſmall degree of courage and enterpriſe, brought out from under the Dutch forts and batteries, almoſt all the veſſels of any value in either river. The prizes were conſiderable: but adm. Rodney, in his official letter of the 17th of March, obſerved in the poſtſcript,—"The Dutch ſhips ſeized by the privateers at Demarara are droits to the admiralty, the privateers having no commiſſion to take them." He mentioned alſo the ſurrender of the French iſland of St. Bartholomew on the 16th.

The inhabitants of the two Dutch colonies of Demarara and Iſſequibo, ſenſible of their defenceleſs ſituation, had already made a tender of their ſubmiſſion to the governor of Barbadoes, requiring no other terms but a participation of thoſe which had been granted to Euſtatia and its dependencies. A deputation was ſent to adm. Rodney and gen. Vaughan to learn what were theſe terms. The deputies found that the coloniſts had made an improvident demand, as in effect the terms which they required were, that they might be deſpoiled of all their goods, and baniſhed from their habitations. But a nice line of diſtinction was drawn, between the honeſty and good properties of Dutchmen inhabiting the continent, and of thoſe living in Euſtatia: and the continental coloniſts were accordingly fully ſecured in their property, and had every indulgence granted, which could have been fairly expected. However their countrymen,

trymen, the Euſtatian iſlanders, have been obliged to undergo the opprobrium, of having the atrocious crime of perfidiouſneſs publicly charged and recorded againſt them in the London gazettes; and therefore of being unworthy of any degree of protection, much leſs of indulgence. 1781.

The Dutch war prevented the ſending of the ſecond French naval diviſion to the aſſiſtance of the United States of America as at firſt intended; and put the court of Verſailles upon the plan of augmenting their fleet in the Weſt Indies, ſo as to ſecure it a ſuperiority over the Britiſh. Accordingly count de Graſſe ſailed from Breſt toward the end of March, with a fleet of 25 ſail of the line, the Sagittaire of 54 guns, 6000 land forces, and a prodigious convoy, amounting to between 2 and 300 ſhips; the whole compoſing one of the largeſt and richeſt fleets that ever ſailed from France. Of this formidable armament, five ſhips of the line under Mr. de Suffrein, with part of the land forces, were deſtined for the Eaſt Indies; with a view likewiſe of intercepting commodore Johnſtone's ſquadron and convoy on their way; the laſt ſailed from Spithead on the 13th of the ſame month, in company with the Britiſh grand fleet under adm. Darby. Mar. 22.

The Eaſt India company received advice, about the middle of April, that in July of laſt year, Hyder Ally entered the Carnatic in different places; that ſome of their troops were afterward attacked and defeated; that Sir Eyre Coote left Calcutta and ſailed with a reinforcement to Fort St. George, where he arrived the 5th of November, two days after Arcot had ſurrendered to Hyder. Their affairs in that quarter have but a threatening

1781. ening aſpect; but Sir Eyre is attempting all in his power to retrieve them.

April 19. Mr. John Adams preſented to their high mightineſſes, the ſtates general of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, a memorial dated Leyden, April 19, 1781. In which he informed them, that the United States of America had lately thought fit to ſend him a commiſſion (with full powers and inſtructions) to confer with them concerning a treaty of amity and commerce; and that they had appointed him to be their miniſter plenipotentiary to reſide near them. Similar information was communicated at the ſame time to the ſtadtholder, his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange. Mr. Adams meant to conciliate the affections of all parties; that ſo they might unite in ſupporting the meaſure he wiſhed to obtain.

LETTER IV.

Roxbury, Sept. 15, 1781.

LORD Cornwallis having croſſed the Deep river, gen. Greene reſolved on carrying the war without delay into South Carolina; thereby to oblige the enemy to follow him, or to endanger their poſts in that ſtate. He expected that if the former took place, North Carolina would not continue the ſeat of war; if the latter, that

that they would loſe more than they could gain in this laſt ſtate; and that did he remain in it, they would hold their poſſeſſions in both. He diſcharged all his militia; refreſhed his regular troops; collected a few days proviſion; marched on the 5th of April toward Camden; and in the morning of the 20th, encamped at Log-town within ſight of the enemy's works. On this march lieut. col. Lee, with his partizan legion, was detached to join gen. Marion with a few volunteer South Carolina militia on a ſecret expedition. To ſecure the proviſions that grow on the banks of the Santee and Congaree rivers, the Britiſh had erected a chain of poſts in their vicinity. One of the moſt important was on Wright's-bluff, and called Fort Watſon. To the ſurpriſe of the Britiſh it was cloſely inveſted on the 15th. Neither Lee nor Marion had any other means of annoyance or defence but muſketry. The ground on which the fort ſtood was an Indian mount, 30 or 40 feet high: the beſiegers however erected, in a few days, on an unuſual plan, a work much higher. From thence the American rifle-men fired into the fort with ſuch execution, that the beſieged durſt not ſhow themſelves. On the 23d, the garriſon of 114 men ſurrendered by capitulation.

1781. April 5. 23.

Camden was covered on the ſouth and eaſt ſides by the Wateree, and a creek which empties itſelf into that river: on the weſtern and northern by ſix ſtrong redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army conſiſted of 843 continental infantry, beſide 56 cavalry and 31 diſmounted dragoons; together with 254 North Carolina militia who had joined them by the 25th. It was unequal to the taſk of carrying the place by ſtorm, as alſo of com-

1781. pletely inveſting it. On the 21ſt Greene received intelligence, that lieut. col. Watſon, who had made an incurſion to Peedee, was on his return to Camden with 4 or 500 men: upon which he ſent his baggage and artillery, which could not follow him, under a guard of militia, to a ſecure poſition, and threw all his regular troops below the town, where appearances indicated more forcible hoſtilities againſt the garriſon; and frequent ſkirmiſhes evinced the enemy's apprehenſions of danger upon that quarter: but the principal deſign of Greene, to intercept Watſon, was prevented by his delay, and a report of his having croſſed the Santee.

On the 24th the army returned to the north ſide of the town, orders being previouſly ſent for the artillery and baggage to rejoin it at Hobkirk's hill, about a mile from Camden. The army took poſt on the hill, the better to improve the opportunity that any ſortie might afford; and by its being more remote than the poſition formerly occupied, to impreſs the enemy with an idea of the Americans beginning to be apprehenſive of their own danger. The precaution of calling the rolls often was taken; notwithſtanding which, one Jones, a drummer, eluded the attention of the officers and the vigilance of the guards, and got ſafe into town. But nothing was apprehended from that circumſtance, as the army was well poſted, and deſired nothing more than a field action.

April 25. On the morning of the 25th this order was iſſued —"The troops are to be furniſhed with two days proviſion, and a gill of ſpirits per man as ſoon as the ſtores arrive." The proviſions were iſſued; but the ſpirits being in the rear of the baggage train, did not arrive at the

the moment when they were moſt neceſſary. Lord Raw- 1781.
don concluding that gen. Greene was not prepared for an action, and that a favorable moment offered, marched out to attack him. The Americans were cooking their victuals, and Greene was at breakfaſt; about ten o'clock, when ſome of his advanced ſentinels, half a mile in front of the camp, fired upon the van of the Britiſh. The American troops were ſoon formed, and waited with cheerful countenances the approach of the enemy: col. O. Williams then rode to head quarters, 2 or 300 yards in the rear of the line, and returned before they engaged. All the baggage, as is cuſtomary in general actions, was ordered off. The cavalry (which was unſaddled and feeding, on the firſt alarm) was now ready; and ſo certain was Greene of ſucceſs, that without the leaſt heſitation, he ordered lieut. col. Waſhington to turn the right flank of the Britiſh, and to charge in their rear. By this time the fire between the Britiſh van, and the American light infantry picquets became very lively; and the Maryland troops (who had been ordered to ſit down) ſtood up and made ready. The ſecond regiment, being on the left of the line, was ordered to advance and attack the Britiſh on their right flank, which was done by lieut. col. Ford, who received a mortal wound in the action: the firſt regiment, commanded by col. Gunby, was ordered to charge the enemy in front. The two Virginia regiments were ordered to act in a ſimilar manner upon the left of the Britiſh, and were led on by Greene in perſon, aided by gen. Huger, lieut. cols. Campbell and Hawes. The artillery was well poſted and doing great execution, and a ſmall body of militia was coming into action, when ſuddenly a

1781. number of the Americans began to retire, though the danger was not apparently great, and every body ſeemed ignorant of the cauſe. Col. Williams was at this inſtant near the centre of the Maryland brigade, and with the aſſiſtance of col. Gunby and other officers, endeavoured to rally the men. They halted and gave a few fires; but could not be brought again to charge. A general retreat took place. Waſhington, in the execution of the order given him, had at one time poſſeſſed himſelf of near 200 priſoners: but he relinquiſhed the greateſt part on ſeeing the army retire. The officers he paroled on the field of battle; and then collecting his men, wheeled round, made his own retreat good with the loſs of three men, and carried off with him fifty priſoners. The fortune of the day was irretrievable: but Greene, with his uſual firmneſs, inſtantly took meaſures to prevent Rawdon's improving the ſucceſs he had obtained. The retreat was conducted with ſuch order and deliberation, that moſt of the American wounded, all their artillery and all their baggage, were ſafely carried off, together with ſix royal commiſſioned officers, beſide Waſhington's priſoners. The action was continued with intervals, till about four in the afternoon, and till the Americans had retreated about four miles; when a detachment of the infantry and cavalry, under Waſhington, were ordered to advance and annoy the Britiſh. The York volunteers, a handſome corps of horſe, being a little advanced of the Britiſh infantry, Waſhington, with great intrepidity, inſtantly charged them, killed a number and diſperſed the reſt. The Britiſh army, without attempting any thing further, retired to Camden, and Greene encamped the Americans about five miles from

from their former poſition. The field of battle was occupied only by the dead. The loſs of the Americans in killed, wounded and miſſing, was 264 *. Among the firſt was capt. Beatty of the Maryland line, one of the beſt of officers, and an ornament to his profeſſion. Many of the miſſing returned. 1781.

The next day Greene in general orders commended the exertions of ſeveral corps; but implicitly and by ſilence cenſured the infantry of the battalions; which would not have been done had he known the real cauſe of their apparent miſconduct. The virtual cenſure was ſeverely felt, and the diſſatisfaction of the troops upon the occaſion, who ſaid they were ordered to retire, and the complaints of many of the officers who acknowledged they had communicated ſuch orders, at length produced, at the inſtance of col. Gunby, a court of inquiry. It then appeared that Gunby received orders to advance and charge bayonets without firing: this order was inſtantly communicated to the regiment; which advanced cheerfully for ſome diſtance, when a firing began on the right, and in a ſhort time became general through the whole regiment. Soon after, two of the right hand companies gave way, when Gunby ordered the other four to be brought off. This was done, and they joined Gunby at the foot of the hill, where he was exerting himſelf in rallying the other two companies, and at length effected it. The regiment was again formed, and gave a fire or two as above related. Greene in general orders pronounced Gunby's ſpirit and activity unexceptionable; but his order for the regiment to retire extremely improper and unmilitary; and declared that

* The return to the Board of War.

1781. to be the only probable cauſe why they did not obtain a complete victory.

April 28. On the 28th gen. Greene thus expreſſed himſelf in a letter to the chevalier de la Luzerne—"This diſtreſſed country I am ſure cannot ſtruggle much longer, without more effectual ſupport. They may ſtruggle a little while longer, but they muſt fall; and I fear their fall will lay a train to ſap the independence of the reſt of America.—I have, agreeable to your excellency's advice, impreſſed the ſtates all in my power with a ſenſe of their danger; but they have not the means to make the neceſſary exertions.—We fight, get beaten, riſe and fight again. The whole country is one continued ſcene of blood and ſlaughter." On the 1ſt of May he wrote to the marquis de la Fayette—"You may depend upon it, that nothing can equal the ſufferings of our little army, but their merit. Let not the love of fame get the better of your prudence; and plunge you into a misfortune in too eager a purſuit after glory. This is the voice of a friend, and not the caution of a general." Capt. Smith of the Americans was deprived of the common indulgence allowed to priſoners, on a charge brought againſt him by deſerters from Greene's army, of murdering an officer and three privates belonging to the guards after the action of Guildford. Greene complained of it to lord Rawdon in a letter of May the 3d, and ſaid—"Nothing can be more foreign to the truth than the charge. I have only to obſerve upon it, that had ſuch a charge been made againſt any of your officers, whom the fortune of war had thrown into our hands, before I ſhould have treated them with any peculiar marks of indignity, I ſhould firſt have made the inquiry, and

had the fact better eſtabliſhed.—It is my wiſh that the war ſhould be conducted upon the moſt liberal, national and generous principles; but I will never ſuffer an indignity or injury to be offered to our officers without retaliation." 1781.

Soon after the action with his lordſhip, Greene knowing that the Britiſh garriſon in Camden could not ſubſiſt long without freſh ſupplies from Charleſtown or the country, detached a reinforcement to Marion on the road to Nelſon's ferry; and on the 3d of May croſſed the Wateree, and took occaſionally ſuch poſitions as would moſt effectually prevent ſuccours from going into the town from that quarter. On the 4th he wrote to governor Reed of Pennſylvania—"Thoſe whoſe true intereſt it was to have informed congreſs and the people to the northward with the real ſtate of things, have joined in the deception, and magnified the ſtrength and reſources of this country infinitely above their ability. Many of thoſe who adhere to our party, are ſo fond of pleaſure, that they cannot think of making the neceſſary ſacrifices to ſupport the revolution. There are many good and virtuous people to the ſouthward; but they cannot animate the inhabitants in general, as you can to the northward.—When ruin appears to approach any ſtate, they are alarmed and begin to think of exerting themſelves; but its approach no ſooner receives a check, than they ſink back into a careleſs inattention.—Virginia has exerted herſelf in giving a temporary ſupport to the army; but her pleaſure and her policy prevent her giving us ſuch permanent aid, as her ſtrength and reſources are capable of affording.—Maryland has done nothing, nor can I hear of any exertions there equal to the emergency May 3.

1781. of war.—Delaware has not anſwered my letters.—Theſe ſtates have few men here, and thoſe they have are daily diſcharged.—North Carolina has got next to no regulars in the field, and few militia, and theſe the worſt in the world, for they have neither pride nor principle to bind them to any party, or to a diſcharge of their duty.—Generals Marion and Sumpter have a few people who adhere to them, perhaps more from a deſire and the opportunity of plundering, than from any inclination to promote the independence of the United States.—I have been playing the moſt hazardous game to keep up appearances in this quarter, until more effectual ſupport could be afforded. But our number is reduced to a mere ſhadow.—The war to the northward is nothing. It is a plain buſineſs. Here the war rages like a fire; and the enterpriſe and activity of the enemy almoſt exceed belief. I have run every riſk and hazard, and find the difficulties thicken upon me daily; and you know I am not of a deſponding ſpirit or idle temper.—If our good friends the French cannot lend a helping hand to ſave theſe ſinking ſtates, they muſt and will fall. Here we are contending with more than five times our number, and among a people much more in the enemy's intereſt than ours." Greene complains in this letter of the Marylanders; but they had raiſed 500 regulars, who might have joined him in April, if proper pains had been taken by the executive power.

On the 7th of May lord Rawdon received a conſiderable reinforcement by the arrival of the detachment under Watſon. With this increaſe of ſtrength he attempted the next day to compel gen. Greene to another action, which he found to be impracticable. Failing in

his deſign he returned to Camden; and on the 10th burned the jail, mills, many private houſes, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the poſt, and retired with his whole army to the ſouth of the Santee, leaving about 30 of his own ſick and wounded, and as many of the Americans. Greene's return to the ſouthward being unexpected, the ſtores of the garriſon were not provided for a ſiege; but the evacuation was haſtened, as Greene apprehended, from an alarm that a meaſure of his had given them. While in the neighbourhood of Camden, he hanged in one day eight ſoldiers, who had deſerted from his army, and were afterward taken priſoners. This execution, according to the information given him, almoſt bred a mutiny in the garriſon, which was compoſed very much of deſerters. It had a ſtrong effect on his own troops, from whom there was no deſertion for three months. Rawdon had the honor of ſaving his men, though he loſt the poſt, the country, and the confidence of the tories. He offered every aſſiſtance in his power to the friends of Britiſh government who would accompany him, which was the choice of ſeveral families. 1781. May 10.

The evacuation of Camden animated the friends of congreſs, and daily increaſed their numbers; while the Britiſh poſts fell in quick ſucceſſion. The day after the evacuation, the garriſon of Orangeburgh, conſiſting of 70 Britiſh militia and 12 regulars, ſurrendered to Sumpter. Marion and Lee, after the capture of fort Watſon, croſſed the Santee and moved up to fort Motte, which lies above the Fork on the ſouth ſide of the Congaree, where they arrived on the 8th of May. The Britiſh had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling

1781. ling houſe, which occaſioned her moving to a neighbouring hut. She was informed that firing the houſe was the eaſieſt mode of reducing the garriſon: upon that ſhe preſented the beſiegers with a quiver of African arrows, to be employed in the ſervice. Skewers armed with combuſtible materials were alſo uſed, and with more effect. Succeſs ſoon crowned theſe experiments, and her joy was inexpreſſible upon finding that the reduction of the poſt had been expedited, though at the expence of her property. The firing of her houſe compelled the garriſon of 165 men, to ſurrender at diſcretion on the 12th, after a brave defence. Two days after, the Britiſh evacuated their poſt at Nelſon's ferry.

May 12.

15. On the 15th, fort Granby, about 30 miles to the weſtward of fort Motte, was reduced. The preceding night Lee erected a battery within 600 yards of its out-works, on which he mounted a ſix pounder haſtily brought from fort Motte. After the third diſcharge from this field piece, major Maxwell capitulated. His force conſiſted of 352 men, a great part royal militia. Very advantageous terms were given them, in conſequence of information that lord Rawdon was marching to their relief. They had the offer of ſecurity to their baggage, in which was included an immenſe quantity of plunder. This haſtened the ſurrender. The American militia were much diſguſted, that the garriſon was ſo favored. They indicated an inclination for breaking the capitulation, and killing the priſoners. When Greene heard of it, he ſolemnly declared that he would put to death any one that ſhould be guilty of ſo doing.

The day after the ſurrender of fort Granby, Lee began his march to join Pickens, who with a body of militia

militia was in the neighbourhood of Auguſta; and in four days completed it. On the 21ſt, the Britiſh poſt at Silver Bluff, called fort Dreadnought, with ſix commiſſioned officers and 70 ſtaff, non-commiſſioned and privates, beſide a field piece and a large quantity of ſtores, ſurrendered to a detachment of the legion under capt. Rudolph. Pickens and Lee had for their object the reduction of fort Cornwallis at Auguſta, where col. Brown commanded. The approaches were conducted with judgment and rapidity; but no advantage could be gained over the brave and vigilant Brown. In the courſe of the ſiege, ſeveral batteries were erected which overlooked the fort. From theſe the American riflemen ſhot into the inſide of the works with ſucceſs. The garriſon buried themſelves in a great meaſure under ground; and obſtinately refuſed to ſurrender, till every man who attempted to fire upon the beſiegers was inſtantly ſhot down. On the 5th of June, the fort with about 300 men ſurrendered by capitulation. The Americans had about 40 killed and wounded during the ſiege. Lieut. col. Grierſon, who was greatly obnoxious to them, was after the ſurrender put to death by ſome unſeen markſman. A reward of a hundred guineas was offered for the perpetrator of this perfidious deed, who notwithſtanding remained undiſcovered. Brown would probably have ſhared a ſimilar fate, had not his conquerors furniſhed him with an eſcort to the royal garriſon in Savannah; for on his way he had to paſs through the inhabitants whoſe houſes he had burned, whoſe relations he had hanged, and ſome of whoſe fellow citizens he had delivered to the Indians, from whoſe hands they 1781. 21.

1781. they ſuffered all the tortures, which ſavageneſs has contrived to give poignancy to the pains of death.

General Greene, the mean while, had proceeded with the main army to Ninety Six, which was of more conſequence than the other poſts, and was defended by a conſiderable force under the command of lieut. col. Cru-
May 22. ger. Greene arrived before the town on the 22d of May, and two days after opened his firſt batteries. The approaches were carried on with unremitting aſſiduity, day and night. Greene's regular force was ſomewhat ſuperior to that of the garriſon *. The militia in that diſtrict abated their habitual ardor for deſtroying each other, and waited the event of the ſiege. The Americans not finding the aid they expected from them; but on the contrary being obliged to ſend large convoys with the waggons, that went only a few miles from camp for proviſions or forage, the buſineſs became extremely irkſome, and the event dubious: however the ſiege was proſecuted with indefatigable induſtry. The garriſon defended themſelves with ſpirit and addreſs; and frequent rencounters happened with various ſucceſs. Rifle-

* Mr. M'Kenzie in his ſtrictures on Tarleton's hiſtory ſays, the American army amounted to upward of four thouſand men—p. 146. The American deputy adjutant general, col. O. Williams, ſtated them thus in his return, preſent fit for duty, rank and file, Maryland brigade 427, Virginia ditto 431, North Carolina battalion 66, Delaware ditto 60, in all 984; and made no mention of militia. Mr. M'Kenzie ſtates the garriſon at about 150 men of Delancey's battalion, 200 Jerſey volunteers, and about 200 loyal militia, in all 550, if full, and no more than about the number ſpecified. But if a miſtake in the account of the garriſon, any wiſe ſimilar to that of the American army, has been committed, the diſproportion between both muſt be much greater, than that of 550 and 984.

men

men were employed on both ſides, who immediately 1781.
levelled at every perſon that appeared in ſight, and ſeldom miſſed their object. The additional force of Lee's legion after the ſurrender of fort Cornwallis, was highly ſeaſonable; as moſt of the American militia had withdrawn, either to carry home their plunder, or to ſecure their families from the ravages of the royaliſts, who began to get rid of their apprehenſions, on a report, that a large reinforcement from Europe had arrived at Charleſtown, and that lord Rawdon was marching to the relief of Ninety Six.

On the 3d of June, a fleet arrived from Ireland, having on board the 3d, 19th, and 30th Britiſh regiments, a detachment from the guards, and a conſiderable body of recruits, the whole commanded by lieut. col. Gould. This was a ſeaſonable arrival; for the royal army had loſt a number of brave officers and ſoldiers, through the ſudden and unexpected attack of the Americans upon their detached poſts in different parts of the country. On the 7th, Rawdon marched from Charleſtown with a number of theſe newly arrived troops, in order to relieve the garriſon at Ninety Six. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter, in rapidly marching under the rage of a burning ſun through the whole extent of South Carolina; but much greater was their aſtoniſhment, when they were told, that their ſervices in the field were neceſſary to oppoſe the yet unſubdued rebels in the province. They had been amuſed with hopes, that nothing remained for them to do, but to ſit down as ſettlers on the forfeited lands of a conquered country. General Greene's army had advanced their approaches very near that critical point, after which fur- June 3.

ther

1781. ther reſiſtance would have been temerity. At this intereſting moment, intelligence was received, that lord Rawdon was nigh at hand, with a reinforcement of at leaſt 1700 foot, and 150 horſe. An American lady, lately married to an officer in the garriſon, had been prevailed upon by a large ſum of money to convey a letter to Cruger, with the news of their approach. Attempts had been made to retard their march, but without the deſired effect. Their vicinity made it neceſſary either to raiſe the ſiege, or make a bold attempt for the reduction of the place. The American army was eager for this effort, in which every one knew and deſpiſed the danger. But Greene conſidered the conſequences of a repulſe, and inſtead of a general aſſault, ordered
June 18. the batteries to be well manned and a furious cannonade to commence, while the troops lined the trenches and parallel lines with all the appearances of a meditated coup-de-main. One of the redoubts was quickly abandoned, and Lee's light infantry took poſſeſſion of it. Immediately afterward, a ſelect party from the Maryland brigade under lieut. Duval, and another from the Virginia brigade under lieut. Selden, followed by a number of pioneers provided with entrenching tools and grapples, entered the ditch of the ſtrongeſt work called the Star fort, and endeavoured to pull down the ſand bags and to make a lodgment. The aſtoniſhment of the enemy at firſt made their oppoſition feeble; but the ſtrength of their works requiring much time to reduce them, ſome of their troops who had abandoned the poſt were brought back to its defence, and parties were thrown into the ditch to charge the Americans on each flank, who were repulſed with loſs, and then ſucceeded by

others

others that ſuffered alſo, while thoſe within fought en- 1781.
tirely under cover. The American parties in the ditch were enfiladed and galled exceedingly by the fire from the flank angles of their fort. The enterpriſe however was not ſoon relinquiſhed. Expoſed as they were, with their noſes almoſt touching the muzzles of the enemy's muſketry, flanked on both ſides, and fighting foot to foot, they bravely maintained poſſeſſion of the ditch, and vigorouſly urged the daring deſign, till they were ordered to retire. The conflict continued near an hour, when Greene obſerving that every thing had been attempted which could promiſe ſucceſs, directed the ſurviving aſſailants to be called off. About one third fell in the ditch, and near as many were brought off wounded. Duval and Selden were both wounded. During the attack, the 1ſt Maryland regiment, commanded by capt. Benſon (which was to ſuſtain the advanced parties in caſe they penetrated the fort) manned the advanced parallel line, and both lines of approach, which were within a few feet of the enemy's works. The officers could not be at once neighbours and ſtrangers to danger. They frequently obſerved the ſituation of affairs, and ſometimes ordered their ſoldiers to riſe up and fire over the heads of their companions, to prevent the enemy from looking and firing over their ſand bags. Capt. Armſtrong received a ball through the head, and capt. Benſon a very dangerous wound through the left ſhoulder and neck. Rawdon's near approach obliged Greene to raiſe the ſiege on the evening of the 19th, after having loſt, ſince the 22d of May, about 150 men in killed, wounded and miſſing.

It

1781. It was a mortifying circumſtance to the Americans, to be obliged to abandon the ſiege, when in the graſp of victory—to be compelled, when nearly maſters of the whole country, to retreat to its extremity. On this ſudden turn of affairs, Greene was adviſed by ſome perſons to leave the ſtate, and retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To ſuch ſuggeſtions he nobly anſwered—"I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." On the 20th, the American army croſſed the Saluda and retired toward Broad river. They reached the Enoree on the 24th. Thus far lord Rawdon purſued them; when finding it impoſſible to overtake them, he faced about and returned. He conſoled himſelf with the apprehenſion that they were gone to North Carolina or Virginia. But they halted and refreſhed themſelves near the Croſs roads, till Greene was informed, that his lordſhip with about half his army was marching to the Congaree. Upon this the American invalids and heavy baggage filed off toward Camden, and all the effective infantry marched by way of Wynſborough to meet his lordſhip at fort Granby. The cavalry was previouſly detached to watch his motions; and did it ſo effectually, that a part of them charged and took a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet, and 45 privates of the Britiſh dragoons, with all their horſes and accoutrements, one mile from their encampment. The day following, the 4th of July, his lordſhip marched from the Congaree to Orangeburgh, where he was joined by the 3d regiment under lieut. col. Stewart, with a convoy of proviſions. Greene, after collecting the militia under Sumpter and Marion, and attaching them to the continentals, offered him battle on the 12th. His lordſhip, ſecure in his

June 20.

July 4.

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ſtrong

ſtrong poſition, would not venture out, and Greene was too weak to attack him with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Advice being received that Cruger had evacuated Ninety Six, and was marching with his troops to join Rawdon, Greene ordered the Americans to retire about ſeven miles that evening. The next day the cavalry of the legion, the ſtate troops and militia were detached to make a diverſion toward Charleſtown, and the reſt of the army was ordered to the High-Hills of Santee. The ſame day Rawdon and Cruger formed a junction. A few days after, his lordſhip left Orangeburgh with a conſiderable detachment and a great number of waggons, and marched to Charleſtown. His lordſhip intends returning to Great Britain. His ill ſtate of health will fully juſtify his uſing that leave of abſence which has been granted; while the nature of the ſervice in the Carolinas can be no inducement for him to remain. 1781.

The evacuation of Camden having been partly effected by ſtriking at the poſts below, Greene was for trying how far the like meaſure might induce the Britiſh to leave Orangeburgh. The detachment was ſent off to Monk's Corner and Dorcheſter, and moved down by different roads; in three days they commenced their operations. Lee took all the waggons and waggon horſes belonging to a convoy of proviſions. Lieut. col. Wade Hampton, with the ſtate cavalry, charged a party of Britiſh dragoons within five miles of Charleſtown. He alſo took 50 priſoners at Strawberry ferry, and burned four veſſels loaded with valuable ſtores for the Britiſh army. Sumpter appeared before the garriſon at Biggin's church, conſiſting of 500 infantry and upward of 100 cavalry. Lieut. col. Coates who commanded

1781. there, after repulſing Sumpter's advanced party, on the next evening deſtroyed his ſtores and retreated toward Charleſtown. He was cloſely purſued by Lee's legion and Hampton's ſtate cavalry. The legion came up with them, and took their rear guard and all their baggage. Sumpter and Marion came up with the main body after ſome hours; but by this time the Britiſh had ſecured themſelves by taking an advantageous poſt in a range of houſes. An attack was however made, and continued with ſpirit till upward of 40 were killed or wounded by the fire from the houſes. The Britiſh loſt in theſe different engagements 140 priſoners, beſide ſeveral killed and wounded, all the baggage of the 19th regiment, and above 100 horſes and ſeveral waggons.

July 16. General Greene with the main army reached the High Hills of Santee on the 16th of July, and there repoſed them till the 22d of Auguſt. In a letter from thence of the 8th of Auguſt, to a friend at Philadelphia, he thus expreſſed himſelf—"Gen. Gates left this country under a heavy load; and I can aſſure you he did not deſerve it. If he was to be blamed for any thing at all, it was for fighting, not for what he did, or did not do, in or after the action. I have been upon the ground where he was defeated, and think it was well choſen, and the troops properly drawn up; and had he halted after the defeat at Charlotte, without doing the leaſt thing, I am perſuaded there would have been as little murmuring upon that occaſion, as in any inſtance whatever, where the public meet with a misfortune of equal magnitude. I think the order of congreſs for an inquiry was premature, and am confident he will acquit himſelf with honor, whenever he is brought to trial.

But

But if I could have my wiſh, he ſhould be acquitted 1781.
without an inquiry, unleſs he choſe it himſelf."

That you may form a clearer conception of the miſeries attending the war in South Carolina, you are preſented with a few extracts from gen. Greene's letters. While before Ninety Six he wrote to col. Davies, the 23d of May—"The animoſity between the whigs and tories of this ſtate renders their ſituation truly deplorable. There is not a day paſſes, but there are more or leſs who fall a ſacrifice to this ſavage diſpoſition. The whigs ſeem determined to extirpate the tories, and the tories the whigs. Some thouſands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a ſtop cannot be ſoon put to theſe maſſacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months more, as neither whig nor tory can live." Thus without charging, he rebuked Davies for a crime of which he was wofully guilty, and adviſed him to a better conduct. Weighty reaſons, though not a ſimilar one, induced Greene to write to Pickens, on the 5th of June—"The inhabitants near Parker's ford on the Saluda, are in great diſtreſs from the ſavage conduct of a party of men belonging to col. Hammond's regiment. This party plunders without mercy, and murders the defenceleſs people, juſt as private pique, prejudice or perſonal reſentments dictate. Principles of humanity as well as policy require, that proper meaſures ſhould be immediately taken to reſtrain theſe abuſes, heal differences, and unite the people as much as poſſible. No violence ſhould be offered to any of the inhabitants, unleſs found in arms. The idea of exterminating the tories is no leſs barbarous than impolitic. I hope you

1781. will exert yourſelf to bring over the tories to our intereſt, and check the growing enormities which prevail among the whigs, in plundering as private avarice or a bloody diſpoſition ſtimulates them." July the 30th, the general thus expreſſed himſelf to the ſame perſon—"I am exceedingly diſtreſſed, that the practice of plundering ſtill continues to rage. If a check is not put to this fatal practice, the inhabitants will think their miſeries rather increaſed than leſſened." While Greene remained on the High Hills of Santee, he received from the preſident of congreſs, Mr. M'Kean, the following extracts from letters of lord George Germaine.—To the commiſſioners for reſtoring peace. "March the 7th. Your declaration of the 29th of December, will I truſt be productive of good effects. The narrow limits to which you have reduced your exceptions, and the generality of the aſſurance you have given of reſtoration of the former conſtitutions were, I doubt not, well conſidered, and judged neceſſary and expedient: but as there are many things in the conſtitutions of ſome of the colonies, and ſome things in all, which the people have always wiſhed to be altered, and others which the common advantages of both countries require to be changed, it is neceſſary to be attentive, that neither your acts nor declarations preclude any diſquiſition of ſuch ſubjects or prevent ſuch alterations being made in their conſtitution as the people may ſolicit or conſent to." [Thus it appears that the miniſtry meant that the commiſſioners ſhould be ſo guarded in their acts and declarations, as that the American conſtitutions might not obtain from the ſame, ſtability and permanency.]—To Sir Henry Clinton. "February the 7th. It gave his majeſty

majeſty ſatisfaction to find you had determined to replace 1781.
gen. Leſlie's detachment in Elizabeth river, by one under gen. Arnold, with poſitive orders to eſtabliſh a permanent poſt there."—To Sir H. Clinton. "March the 7th. It is a pleaſing, though at the ſame time a mortifying reflection, which ariſes from the view of the return of the provincial forces you have tranſmitted, that the American levies in the king's ſervice are more in number, than the whole of the inliſted troops in the ſervice of the congreſs. I hope in the courſe of the ſummer, the admiral and you will be able to ſpare a force ſufficient to effect an eſtabliſhment at Caſco Bay, and reduce that country to the king's obedience. As the exchanges (as it appears from Mr. Waſhington's laſt letter to you) will not be carried on further, the meaſure of inliſting your priſoners for ſervice in the Weſt Indies ſhould be adopted immediately, and indeed ſuch has been the mortality of the troops there from ſickneſs, that I do not ſee any other means of recruiting them.—The prevalency of weſterly winds theſe laſt two months has prevented the Warwick and Solebay, with their convoy, from getting further than Plymouth, where they are all detained." The preſident wrote in his letter of July the 17th, which accompanied the above extracts—"It further appears from theſe letters, that Arnold has received bills of exchange for five thouſand pounds ſterling on London, which have been paid, and the money inveſted in the ſtocks. This was probably the certain reward, the reſt may have been eventual. Congreſs are poſſeſſed of the originals." The following of May the 22d, is thought alſo to have been ſent to Greene by a member of congreſs—"Congreſs this day received a

1781. moſt affectionate and friendly letter from the king of France. He gives us every aſſurance of the moſt ſubſtantial aid, as far as his abilities and the exigencies of his affairs in Europe will admit. He ſpeaks in the moſt tender and feeling manner on the diſtreſſing ſituation of our affairs; and ſays, he will riſk embarraſſing his own affairs in order to afford us ſome relief."

After lord Rawdon's return to Charleſtown an affair took place, which has rouſed the indignation of the Americans, and may receive a fairer diſcuſſion in ſome future period, when impartiality ſhall be more prevalent than at preſent. The whole truth, and nothing but the truth, ſo far as it has come to my knowledge, ſhall be now laid before you. During the ſiege of Charleſtown, col. Hayne ſerved his country in a corps of militia horſe. After the capitulation, no alternative was left but either to abandon his family and property, or to ſurrender to the conquerors. He concluded that inſtead of waiting to be captured, it would be both more ſafe and more honorable to go within the Britiſh lines, and ſurrender himſelf a voluntary priſoner. He therefore repaired to Charleſtown, and offered to bind himſelf by the honor of an American officer, to do nothing prejudicial to the Britiſh intereſt till he ſhould be exchanged. Reports made of his ſuperior abilities and influence, uniformly exerted in the American cauſe, operated with the conquerors to refuſe him a parole, though they were daily accuſtomed to grant that indulgence to other inhabitants. He was told that he muſt either become a Britiſh ſubject, or ſubmit to cloſe confinement. To be arreſted and detained in the capital, was not to himſelf an intolerable evil; but to abandon his family both to the ravages

ravages of the ſmall-pox, then raging in their neigh- 1781.
bourhood, and to the inſults and depredations of the royaliſts, was too much for the tender huſband and fond parent. To acknowledge himſelf the ſubject of a government which he had from principle renounced, was repugnant to his feelings; but without this he was cut off from every proſpect of a return to his family. In this embarraſſing ſituation he waited on Doctor Ramſay with a declaration to the following effect—"If the Britiſh would grant me the indulgence, which we, in the day of our power, gave to their adherents, of removing my family and property, I would ſeek an aſylum in the remoteſt corner of the United States, rather than ſubmit to their government; but as they allow no other alternative than ſubmiſſion or confinement in the capital, at a diſtance from my wife and family, at a time when they are in the moſt preſſing need of my preſence and ſupport, I muſt for the preſent yield to the demands of the conquerors. I requeſt you to bear in mind, that, previous to my taking this ſtep, I declare, that it is contrary to my inclination, and forced on me by hard neceſſity, I never will bear arms againſt my country. My new maſters can require no ſervice of me, but what is enjoined by the old militia law of the province, which ſubſtitutes a fine in lieu of perſonal ſervice. That I will pay as the price of my protection. If my conduct ſhould be cenſured by my countrymen, I beg that you would remember this converſation, and bear witneſs for me, that I do not mean to deſert the cauſe of America."

In this ſtate of perplexity, col. Hayne ſubſcribed a declaration of his allegiance to the king of Great Bri-

1781. tain; but not without expreſsly objecting to the clauſe which required him with *his arms to ſupport the royal government*. The commandant of the garriſon, brigadier general Paterſon, and James Simpſon eſq; intendant of the Britiſh police, aſſured him that this would never be required; and added further, that when the regular forces could not defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the royal army to quit it. Having ſubmitted to the royal government, he was permitted to return to his family. Notwithſtanding what had paſſed at the time of his ſubmiſſion, he was repeatedly called upon to take arms againſt his countrymen, and finally threatened with cloſe confinement in caſe of a further refuſal. This he conſidered as a breach of contract; and it being no longer in the power of the Britiſh to give him that protection, which was to be the compenſation of his allegiance; he viewed himſelf as releaſed from all engagements to their commanders. The inhabitants of his neighbourhood, who had alſo revolted, petitioned gen. Pickens to appoint him to the command of their regiment, which was done, and the appointment accepted.

Colonel Hayne having thus reſumed his arms, ſent out in July a ſmall party to reconnoitre; which penetrated within ſeven miles of Charleſtown, took gen. Williamſon priſoner, and retreated to the head quarters of the regiment. This was the ſame Williamſon, who was an active officer in the South Carolina militia from the commencement of the war to the ſurrender of Charleſtown; ſoon after which event he became a Britiſh ſubject. Such was the anxiety of the Britiſh commandant to reſcue Williamſon, that he ordered out his whole cavalry

cavalry on the buſineſs. Hayne fell into their hands. 1781.
He was carried to the capital, and confined in the provoſt's priſon, for having reſumed his arms after accepting Britiſh protection. At firſt he was promiſed a trial, and had council prepared to juſtify his conduct by the laws of nations and uſages of war: but this was finally refuſed, and he was ordered for execution by lord Rawdon and lieut. col. Balfour. The royal lieut. gov. Bull, and a great number of inhabitants, both royaliſts and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of Charleſtown generally ſigned a petition in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate ſentiment that was likely to operate on the gallantry of officers, or the humanity of men. His children, accompanied by ſome near relations (the mother had died of the ſmall pox) were preſented on their bended knees, as humble ſuitors for their father's life. Such powerful interceſſions were made in his favor as touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many an hard eye; but lord Rawdon and Balfour continued firm to their determination.

The colonel was repeatedly viſited by his friends, and converſed on various ſubjects with a becoming fortitude. He particularly lamented that, on principles of retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the ſhedding of much innocent blood. He requeſted thoſe in whom the ſupreme power was veſted, to accommodate the mode of his death to his feelings as an officer: but this was refuſed. On the laſt evening of his life, he told a friend, that he was no more alarmed at the thoughts of death, than at any other occurrence which was neceſſary and unavoidable.

On

1781. Aug. 4. On receiving his ſummons in the morning of Auguſt the 4th, to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered to his eldeſt ſon, a youth of about 13 years of age, ſeveral papers relative to his caſe, and ſaid—"Preſent theſe papers to Mrs. Edwards, with my requeſt that ſhe would forward them to her brother in congreſs. You will next repair to the place of execution; receive my body, and ſee it decently interred among my forefathers." They took a final leave. The colonel's arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his perſon. The proceſſion began from the Exchange in the forenoon. The ſtreets were crowded with thouſands of anxious ſpectators. He walked to the place of execution with ſuch decent firmneſs, compoſure and dignity, as to awaken the compaſſion of many, and command reſpect from all. When the city barrier was paſt, and the inſtrument of his cataſtrophe appeared in full view, a faithful friend by his ſide obſerved to him, that he hoped he would exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die. He anſwered with the utmoſt tranquillity—"I will endeavour to do ſo." He aſcended the cart with a firm ſtep and ſerene aſpect. He inquired of the executioner, who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted. On being informed, the colonel replied—"I will ſave you the trouble," and pulled it over himſelf. He was afterward aſked, whether he wiſhed to ſay any thing, to which he anſwered—"I will only take leave of my friends, and be ready." He then affectionately ſhook hands with three gentlemen, recommended his children to their care, and gave the ſignal for the cart to move.

Thus

Thus fell colonel Iſaac Hayne in the bloom of life, furniſhing that example in death, which extorted a confeſſion from his enemies, that though he did not die in a good cauſe, he muſt at leaſt have acted from a perſuaſion of its being ſo *. The world will judge whether his death was ſtrictly according to law; and if ſo, whether the legality was not of that kind to which the maxim is to be applied—*ſummum jus ſumma injuria.* 1781.

The operations in Virginia ſhall be now related.

The junction of gen. Phillip's force to gen. Arnold's at Portſmouth, greatly increaſed their power of diſtreſſing the ſtate, which they failed not to improve as far as poſſible. In April, the troops to the amount of about 2500, embarked and proceeded to James river. By the 24th they ran up to City Point, below Peterſburgh, where baron de Steuben was with a number of militia. Their whole force landed at ſix in the evening; and the next day marched at ten in the morning. The baron was fully convinced that Peterſburgh was their firſt object. Having been obliged to ſend away large detachments, he had not more than 1000 men to oppoſe their advance. He had many reaſons againſt riſking a total defeat, the loſs of arms was a principal one: on the other hand, to retire without ſome ſhow of reſiſtance, would intimidate the inhabitants, and encourage the Britiſh to further incurſions. He therefore determined to do what he could without hazarding too much. He made choice of Blandford (about a mile diſtant) for the place of defence, and a neighbouring bridge for a retreat. The Americans paſſed the night under arms. Toward noon of the 25th, the Britiſh came in ſight,

* Doctor Ramſay's Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 277—284.

1781. formed and extended their line to their left. It was near three o'clock before the firing commenced, which continued from poſt to poſt till paſt five, when the ſuperiority of the enemy, and want of ammunition, obliged the baron to order a retreat, and the bridge to be taken up; which were executed with great regularity notwithſtanding the fire of the Britiſh cannon and muſketry. The Americans diſputed the ground inch by inch, and executed their manœuvres with much exactneſs. The baron retired to Cheſterfield court-houſe, ten miles from Peterſburgh. The next day the Britiſh deſtroyed at Peterſburgh 400 hogſheads of tobacco, a ſhip, and a number of ſmall veſſels. On the 27th Arnold marched to Oſborn's, four miles above which place the Virginians had a conſiderable marine force, with which they meant to oppoſe him. Arnold ſent a flag to treat with the commander, who declared that he would defend his fleet to the laſt. Arnold advanced with ſome artillery, and at length overpowered him. The ſeamen took to their boats and eſcaped, but not before they had ſcuttled and ſet fire to ſeveral of their ſhips. The militia were driven from the oppoſite ſhore. Two ſhips and ten ſmaller veſſels, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour and other articles, fell into Arnold's hands. Four ſhips, five brigantines, and a number of ſmall veſſels, were either burnt or ſunk. The whole quantity of tobacco taken or deſtroyed in this fleet exceeded 2000 hogſheads. The Britiſh by the 30th reached Mancheſter, where they deſtroyed 1200 hogſheads of tobacco: the marquis de la Fayette, with his troops, who arrived at Richmond on the oppoſite ſide the preceding evening, being ſpectators of the conflagration. The royal army on their re-

April 27.

turn

turn made great havoc at Warwick. Beſide the ſhips 1781.
on the ſtocks and in the river, a large range of rope walks, a magazine of flour, a number of warehouſes, containing tobacco and other commodities, tan-houſes full of hides and bark, and ſeveral fine mills, were deſtroyed or conſumed in one general conflagration. The army then returned to the ſhipping, and the whole fell down toward the mouth of the river. While this force was ſufficient for deſtroying every ſpecies of property to an almoſt incredible amount, and for accumulating a great deal of ſpoil for the parties commanding it, the main purpoſe was not anſwered: it was incapable of bringing matters to any deciſive concluſion. Here, and in the Carolinas, the veteran battalions were worn down and conſumed, without producing any permanent advantage.

The marquis de la Fayette has been mentioned as preſent in Virginia. When he had marched back to the head of Elk, he received an order from gen. Waſhington to go on to Virginia, that he might oppoſe gen. Phillips. His troops were in want of almoſt every thing, however they proceeded to, and arrived at Baltimore on the 17th of April. Here he was under the greateſt embarraſſment for want of ſhoes; there not being a pair in his whole command. But the love and confidence he had excited, enabled him to borrow of the merchants two thouſand guineas upon his own credit; with which he procured ſuch neceſſaries as were wanting for the forwarding of his detachment. The marquis, being jealous that Richmond was Phillips's object, made a forced march of 200 miles, and arrived at that place the evening before the latter reached Mancheſter, 29.

During

1781. During the night, which was ſpent in making diſpoſitions of defence, the marquis was joined by ſome militia under baron Steuben. His preſence with ſuch a body of troops ſecured Richmond from the hoſtile attack of the Britiſh, and ſaved the military ſtores with which it was then filled. The marquis, with a very inferior force, kept on the north ſide of James river; and acted ſo entirely on the defenſive, and at the ſame time made ſo judicious a choice of poſts, and ſhowed ſuch vigor and deſign in his movements, as prevented any advantage being taken of his weakneſs. Upon the falling down of the Britiſh forces to the mouth of the river, with a view of collecting contributions at Williamſburgh and in the neighbourhood, the marquis diſcovered no ſmall activity in counteracting them. On their ſudden return up James river, he conceived their object to be the forming a junction with lord Cornwallis, of whoſe marching through North Carolina he had received ſome faint intelligence. He therefore made a rapid movement, that he might get before them to Peterſburgh; but was foiled in his deſign, through the vigilance of the Britiſh commanders. The laſt act of gen. Phillips was the taking poſſeſſion of this place late in the night of May 9. May the 9th: on the 13th he died.

Lord Cornwallis, after the action with Greene near Guilford court-houſe, croſſing Deep river, marched for Wilmington, and arrived in the neighbourhood on the 7th of April. He concluded upon marching to Virginia, and endeavouring a junction with Phillips. The troops were now to encounter a new march of 300 miles; while ſo deſtitute of neceſſaries, that the cavalry might be ſaid to want every thing, and the infantry every thing

thing but ſhoes. Neither were in any ſuitable condition 1781.
to move, even the day before marching. His lordſhip provided for every poſſible contingency as far as in his power; and then began his march on the 25th of April. He arrived at Peterſburgh on the 20th of May. Here 20.
he received the unwelcome news of Phillips's death; but had the conſolation of meeting with a freſh reinforcement of about 1800 men, whom Sir Henry Clinton had ſent to ſupport the war with vigor. Lord Cornwallis, on taking the command, felt himſelf ſo ſuperior to the American force, that he exulted in the proſpect of ſucceſs; and deſpiſing the youth of his opponent unguardedly wrote to Great Britain—"*the boy cannot eſcape me.*" The marquis's little army conſiſted of 1000 continentals, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons. Cornwallis proceeded from Peterſburgh to James river, which he croſſed in order to diſlodge Fayette from Richmond: it was evacuated on the 27th. His lordſhip then marched 27.
through Hanover county, and croſſed the South Anna river, Fayette conſtantly following his motions, but at a guarded diſtance in every part of his progreſs. His lordſhip at one time planned the ſurpriſal of the marquis, while on the ſame ſide of James river with himſelf; but was diverted from his intention by a ſpy, whom Fayette had ſent into his camp. The marquis was very deſirous of obtaining full intelligence concerning his lordſhip; and concluded upon prevailing, if poſſible, upon one Charles (generally called Charly) Morgan, a Jerſey ſoldier, of whom he had entertained a favorable opinion, to turn deſerter, and go over to the Britiſh army, in order to his executing the buſineſs of a ſpy more effectually. Charly was ſent for, and agreed to undertake

the

1781. the hazardous employ; but inſiſted, that in caſe he ſhould be diſcovered and hanged, the marquis, to ſecure his reputation, ſhould have it inſerted in the Jerſey paper, that he was ſent upon the ſervice by his commander. Charly deſerted, and when he had reached the royal army was carried before his lordſhip; who inquired into the reaſon of his deſerting, and received for anſwer—"I have been, my lord, with the American army from the beginning, and while under gen. Waſhington was ſatisfied; but being put under a Frenchman, I do not like it, and have left the ſervice." His lordſhip commended and rewarded his conduct. Charly was very diligent in the diſcharge of his military duty, and was not in the leaſt ſuſpected; but at the ſame time carefully obſerved all that paſſed. One day while on particular duty with his comrades, Cornwallis in cloſe converſation with ſome officers, called Charly to him, and ſaid—"How long time will it take the marquis to croſs James river?" Charly pauſed a moment, and anſwered—"Three hours, my lord." His lordſhip exclaimed—"Three hours! why it will take three days." "No, my lord," ſaid Charly, "the marquis has ſo many boats, and each boat will carry ſo many men. If your lordſhip will be at the trouble of calculating, you will find he can croſs in three hours." His lordſhip turned to the officers, and in the hearing of Charly remarked—"The ſcheme will not do." Charly concluded this was the moment for his returning to the marquis. He, as ſoon as poſſible, plied his comrades with grog *, till they were

* A mixture of rum and water, which gained its name in the following way. When admiral Vernon commanded in the Weſt Indies, to

were well warmed, and then opened his maſked battery. 1781.
He complained of the wants that prevailed in the Britiſh camp, commended the ſupplies with which the American abounded, expreſſed his inclination to return, and then aſked—"What ſay you, will you go with me?" They agreed. It was left with him to manage as to the ſentries. To the firſt he offered, in a very friendly manner, the taking a draught of rum out of his canteen. While the fellow was drinking, Charly ſecured his arms; and then propoſed his deſerting with them; to which he conſented through neceſſity. The ſecond was ſerved in like manner. Charly Morgan by his management carried off ſeven deſerters with him. When he had reached the American army, and was brought to head quarters, the marquis upon ſeeing him cried out, "Ha! Charly, are you got back?" "Yes and pleaſe your excellency, and have brought ſeven more with me," was the anſwer. When Charly had related the reaſon of his returning, and the obſervations he had made, the marquis offered him money; but he declined accepting it, and only deſired to have his gun again. The marquis then propoſed to promote him to the rank of a corporal or ſergeant. To this Morgan replied—"I will not have any promotion. I have abilities for a common ſoldier, and have a good charac-

to preſerve the health and lives of the ſailors, he ordered their allowance of rum to be mixed with a proper quantity of water, and the liquor to be put upon deck for their uſe. The ſailors reſented the alteration; but the reſolution of the admiral obliged them to drink the mixture or go without. It ſo happened that he generally wore on board an old grogram coat: the ſailors took occaſion from thence to ſtile the mixture that was impoſed upon them—*grog*.

1781 ter; ſhould I be promoted my abilities may not anſwer, and I may loſe my character." He however nobly requeſted for his fellow ſoldiers, who were not ſo well ſupplied with ſhoes, ſtockings and clothing as himſelf, that the marquis would promiſe to do what he could to relieve their diſtreſſes; which he eaſily obtained.

Lord Cornwallis, meeting with a plentiful ſupply of fine horſes in the ſtables of private gentlemen, mounted a conſiderable body of troops. Cols. Tarleton and Simcoe were diſpatched from the South Anna with ſeparate detachments to ſcour the interior country. They penetrated into the receſſes, which had been hitherto free from ſpoilers, and might have done conſiderable more miſchief to the inhabitants. They deſtroyed a number of arms under repair, ſome cannon, a quantity of gunpowder, ſalt, harneſs and other matters, deſigned for or capable of being applied to military ſervices. Had their deſtructive operations of this nature been ever ſo conſiderable, inſtead of trifling, they muſt have eſcaped all cenſure; and the Americans would have had no juſt ground of complaint; but it was otherwiſe in various inſtances. Baron Steuben, who was at the Point of Fork with 500 regulars of the Virginia new levies and a few militia, retired upon the approach of Simcoe. He had been ſeparated from the marquis, in conſequence of an order from Greene for the baron to come and join him. The baron had proceeded to the borders of North Carolina. This left the marquis ſo weak, that he was obliged to fall back as Cornwallis advanced, till he ſhould be reinforced. His lordſhip's march to Virginia made the revocation of Greene's order neceſſary. Tarleton penetrated, by a

forced march, as far as Charlotte-ville; and had nearly 1781.
ſurpriſed and taken the whole aſſembly of Virginia pri- June
ſoners. They had removed from Richmond to Char- 4.
lotte-ville to be out of the way of Cornwallis; and received information of Tarleton's approach but juſt time enough to eſcape his legion. They now croſſed the mountains, and convened at Stanton. The Britiſh convention priſoners had been early marched from Charlotte-ville toward Pennſylvania.

Lord Cornwallis not having any immediate occaſion for gen. Arnold, diſpenſed with his abſence, ſo that he returned to New York about the beginning of June. His lordſhip finding it impoſſible to force the marquis de la Fayette to an action, endeavoured to prevent his junction with Wayne; who had been ordered by gen. Waſhington to march from the northward with the Pennſylvania line, amounting to 800, with a view to that event. It was effected without loſs at Racoon ford on the 7th of June. But while this junction was making, 7.
his lordſhip obtained an opening for placing himſelf between the marquis and his ſtores. The ſtores, which were an object with both armies, had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-houſe above the Point of Fork. His lordſhip was ſo far advanced, as that within the courſe of two days he muſt have gained poſſeſſion of them. At the ſame moment he found that the marquis, by an unexpected and rapid march, was within a few miles of his army. This at firſt might be matter of joy to him; as he ſaw no practicable way for the marquis to get between him and the ſtores, but by a road, in paſſing which the Americans might be attacked to great advantage. However, con-

1781. trary to his lordſhip's expectation, the marquis diſcovered a nearer road to Albemarle. It had been long diſuſed, and therefore was much embarraſſed. Fayette had it opened in the night; and to the aſtoniſhment of Cornwallis, fixed himſelf the next day in a ſtrong poſition between the Britiſh army and the American ſtores.

His lordſhip now commenced a retrograde movement; and in two night marches meaſured back upward of 50 miles. He was accompanied with his detachments under Tarleton and Simcoe. By about the June 17th he entered Richmond; the marquis preſſing hard 18. after him. On the 18th the Britiſh moved toward the Americans, ſeemingly with the deſign of ſtriking a detached corps. But upon the marching of the light infantry and Pennſylvanians, they returned into the town. The next day the marquis was joined by Steuben's troops; and on the night of the 20th, Richmond was evacuated. His lordſhip, under an apprehenſion that the marquis was much ſtronger than was really the caſe, haſtened to Williamſburgh; where he occupied a ſtrong poſt, was under the protection of his ſhipping, and re- 26. ceived a reinforcement from Portſmouth. On the 26th of June, the day after the main body of the Britiſh army arrived at Williamſburgh, their rear was attacked within ſix miles of the place, by an American light corps under col. Butler; and had 160 killed and wounded. According to a private letter of Fayette to the preſident of congreſs, his own troops at this period conſiſted only of 1500 regulars, 400 new levies, and about 2000 militia, in all 3900; while Cornwallis's amounted to 4000 regulars, 800 of whom were mounted.

In the courſe of theſe movements, beſide articles 1781.
ſimilar to thoſe already ſpecified, the Britiſh deſtroyed above 2000 hogſheads of tobacco, with ſome braſs and a number of iron ordnance. But they were joined by no great number of inhabitants, and ſcarcely by any of the native Virginians. Lord Cornwallis, in his marches from Charleſtown to Camden, from Camden to the Dan river, from the Dan through North Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Richmond, and from Richmond to Williamſburgh, made a route of more than eleven hundred miles, without computing deviations.

The marquis de la Fayette kept with his body about 18 or 20 miles diſtant from lord Cornwallis, while his advanced corps was within 10 or 12, with an intention of inſulting the Britiſh rear guard, when they ſhould paſs James river. His lordſhip evacuated Williamſ- July
burgh on the 4th of July. On the 6th at noon he re- 6.
ceived intelligence that the Americans were approaching. Perſuaded they would not venture an attack, except under the impreſſion, that only a rear guard was left on that ſide of the river, he uſed all proper means to encourage that opinion of his weakneſs. Gen. Wayne relying upon the aſſurances of a countryman, that the main body had croſſed, puſhed forward with 800 men, chiefly Pennſylvanians and ſome light infantry, and to his ſurpriſe diſcovered the Britiſh army drawn up ready to receive him about ſun ſet. He inſtantly conceived that the only mode of extricating himſelf from his perilous ſituation, was by boldly attacking and engaging them for a while, and then retreating with the utmoſt expedition. He preſſed on with the greateſt intrepidity.

1781. His whole force, with which he began to engage the Britiſh, at no greater diſtance than twenty-five yards, did not exceed five hundred men, all Pennſylvanians *. After behaving with heroic bravery for a time, they faced about, and leaving their cannon behind, hurried off the field in haſte toward ſome light infantry battalions, that by a moſt rapid move had arrived within about half a mile of them. Lord Cornwallis would admit of no purſuit, for he conjectured, from the ſtrangeneſs of circumſtances, that the whole was a ſcheme of Fayette to draw him into an ambuſcade. The Britiſh paſſed the river at night, and retired to Portſmouth; and the marquis choſe that moment for reſting the American troops.

However we ſhall not quit Virginia without mentioning that early in the ſpring, a Britiſh frigate went up the Patomak, and landed a party of men, who ſet fire to and deſtroyed ſome gentlemen's houſes on the Maryland ſide of the river, in ſight of Mount Vernon, gen. Waſhington's ſeat. The captain ſent to Mr. Lund Waſhington, (who ſupplied the place of a ſteward) and demanded a quantity of proviſions, with which he was furniſhed, to prevent worſe conſequences. This compliance did not meet with the general's approbation; and in a letter of April the 30th, he expreſſed to Mr. Lund Waſhington his uneaſineſs at his having gone on board the frigate, and furniſhed proviſions; and ſaid, "that he would rather it had been left to the enemy to take what they pleaſed by force, though at the riſk of burning his houſe and property."

April 30.

* General Wayne's letter to general Greene.

We

We now proceed to the department under gen. Waſh- 1781.
ington's immediate command.

A publication in the New York paper about the month of April, excited the general to write to a particular friend —"Rivington, or the inſpector of his Gazette, publiſhed a letter from me to gov. Hancock and his anſwer, which never had an exiſtence but in the Gazette. The enemy fabricated a number of letters for me formerly as is well known." The following extracts from his genuine letters will give you the beſt account of the particulars to which the ſame relate. "May the 1ſt. I had ſtrained impreſs by military force to that length, I trembled for the conſequences of the execution of every warrant which I had granted for the purpoſe; ſo much are the people irritated by the frequent calls which have been made upon them in that way."—"The 8th. Diſtreſſed beyond expreſſion at the preſent ſituation and future proſpect of the army with regard to proviſion, unleſs an immediate and regular ſupply can be obtained, I have determined to make one great effort more, by repreſentations and requiſitions to the New England ſtates."—"The 10th. From the poſts of Saratoga to that of Dobbs's ferry incluſive, I believe there is not (by the reports and returns I have received) at this moment on hand, one day's ſupply of meat for the army."—"The 11th. I am ſending gen. Heath purpoſely to the eaſtern ſtates to repreſent our diſtreſſes, and fix a plan for our regular ſupply for the future." Three days before, the general wrote to gov. Livingſton—"Intelligence has been ſent me by a gentleman, who has an opportunity of knowing what paſſes among the enemy, that four parties had been ſent out with orders to take or aſſaſſinate your ex- May 1.

1781. cellency, gov. Clinton, me, and a fourth perſon name unknown." The general at the ſame time, did not believe that the enemy had any deſign of aſſaſſinating, though declared by one who ſaid he was engaged. The repreſentation made to the Maſſachuſetts general court of the army diſtreſſes, put them upon thoſe exertions
May 14. that were beneficial though inſufficient. On the 14th Waſhington was pained with an account, that col. Greene, who lay near Croton river with a detachment of the army, had been ſurpriſed in the morning, about ſun riſe, by a party of Delancey's corps, conſiſting of 100 cavalry, and about 200 infantry. They came firſt to the colonel and major Flagg's quarters. The major was killed in bed, and the colonel badly wounded. They attempted carrying him off, but finding that he could not march faſt enough, they murdered him. His death is much regretted. His bravery was ſeen and felt in the defence of Red-bank againſt count Donop.

Monſieur de Barras, appointed to the command of the French ſquadron at Newport, arrived at Boſton in the Concorde frigate on the 6th of May. He brought with him diſpatches for the count de Rochambeau; which being notified to Waſhington, he with generals Knox and du Portail ſet off for Weathersfield, three miles from Hartford, where they met the count de Rocham-
21. beau and the chevalier Chaſtellux on the 21ſt. At this interview, after combining all preſent circumſtances and future proſpects, the plan propoſed the laſt year at Hartford of attacking New York was adopted. The object was conſidered of greater magnitude and more within their reach than any other. The weakneſs of the garriſon of New York, its central poſition for drawing together

together men and ſupplies, and the ſpur which an at- 1781.
tempt againſt that place would give to every exertion, were among the reaſons which prompted to the undertaking, and promiſed ſucceſs, unleſs the enemy ſhould call a conſiderable part of their force from the ſouthward. The French troops were to march toward the North river as ſoon as circumſtances would permit, leaving about 200 men at Providence with the heavy ſtores and baggage, and 500 militia upon Rhode Iſland to ſecure the works. On the 24th, letters were addreſſed to the 24.
executive powers of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut and Jerſey, requiring among other things, militia to the amount of 6200. Waſhington enforced the requiſition with "Our allies in this country expect and depend upon being ſupported by us, in the attempt we are about to make; and thoſe in Europe will be aſtoniſhed, ſhould we neglect the favorable opportunity which is now offered." The general returned to his head quarters on the 26th. The next day he forwarded this information to the proper perſons—"On the calculations I have been able to form, in concert with ſome of the moſt experienced French and American officers, the operation in view will require, in addition to the French army, all the continental battalions from New Hampſhire to New Jerſey to be completed." He added afterward—"As we cannot count upon the battalions being full, and as a body of militia will moreover be neceſſary, I have called upon the ſeveral ſtates to hold certain numbers in readineſs to move within a week of the time I may require them."

The Britiſh adjutant general employed one lieut. James Moody, in attempting to intercept Waſhington's

diſ-

1781. diſpatches. He ſucceeded repeatedly, though his eſcapes were narrow. He was urged to renew the ſervice after the interview between Waſhington and Rochambeau had taken place; accordingly, way-laying the mail ſome days in the Jerſeys, the opportunity offered for his taking and conveying to New York that very bag which contained the letters that were the object of the enterpriſe.

June 21. Preparations were now making for the American army's taking the field; and on the 21ſt of June they marched for the camp at Peeks-kill. On the 1ſt of July, Waſhington mentioned in a letter—"From the 12th of May to this day, we have received only 312 head of cattle, from New Hampſhire 30, Maſſachuſetts 230, and Connecticut 52. Unleſs more ſtrenuous exertions are made to feed the few troops in the field, we muſt not only relinquiſh our intended operation, but ſhall diſband for want of ſubſiſtence; or which is almoſt equally to be lamented, the troops will be obliged to ſeek it for themſelves where it can be found." The next morning about three o'clock, the army marched toward New York with no baggage, but a blanket and clean ſhirt each man, and four days proviſions cooked. Gen. Lincoln having taken poſt with four battalions of infantry, and a ſmall detachment of the guards, at no great diſtance from fort Independence, was attacked on the 3d by about 1500 royal troops. The body of the American army, which was at hand, marched to ſupport him. Lincoln deſigned to draw the enemy to a diſtance from their ſtrong poſt at Kingſbridge and its dependencies, and thereby to have given Waſhington and the duke de Lauzun, with the French legion, and Sheldon's dragoons, the

the opportunity of turning their flanks. But it being 1781.
apparent that Washington determined to fight at all events, the enemy declined sending out reinforcements, and soon retired within Kingsbridge. The next day the army marched toward White Plains; and on the 6th July 6.
the van of the French troops under Rochambeau appeared on the heights about eight o'clock, on the left of the Americans. On the 8th the French encamped near in a line with the Americans, with their left extending toward the Sound. Their whole force consists of more than those who went from Newport; for about the 8th of June, there arrived at Boston, a French 50 gun ship, 3 frigates, and 14 transports, with 1500 men. These marched the 14th of the same month to join their countrymen under Rochambeau. The British having gained the proper intelligence planned an expedition, which would have been very prejudicial to the Americans had it succeeded. The nature and importance of it may be learned from the general orders of July the 17th. "The commander in chief is exceedingly pleased with major gen. Howe, for marching with so much alacrity and rapidity to the defence of the stores at Tarry-town, and repulsing the enemy's shipping from thence. The gallant behaviour and spirited exertions of col. Sheldon, capt. Hurlblut of the 2d regiment of dragoons, capt. lieut. Miles of the artillery, and lieut. Shaylor of the 4th Connecticut regiment, previous to the arrival of the troops, in extinguishing the flames of the vessels which had been set on fire by the enemy, and rescuing the *whole* of the *ordnance* and *stores* from destruction, has the applause of the general." On the 21st, the general in 21.
a letter to the French admiral thus expressed himself—

"I

1781. "I hope there will be no occaſion for a movement to the ſouthward, for want of force to act againſt New York, as I flatter myſelf the glory of deſtroying the Britiſh ſquadron at New York is reſerved for the king's fleet under your command, and that of the land force at the ſame place for the allied arms." At eight o'clock in the evening of the ſame day, the American army (excluſive of 20 men to a regiment) and part of the French, marched from their encampments, and continued it with great rapidity and ſcarce any halt through the night. At four the next morning, they were drawn up in order of battle, while Waſhington, Rochambeau, all the general officers and engineers reconnoitred the different poſitions of the enemy's works from right to left. The next morning was alſo ſpent in reconnoitring. At four in the afternoon, the troops prepared to march and return to the camp. They arrived at their old ground by halt after twelve.

The ſtates were all this while very dilatory in ſending the number of troops required: they were equally culpable as to the quality of thoſe they did ſend, which occaſioned a Maſſachuſetts officer to write from camp as follows on the 26th—"A private character, who ſhould uſe fraud to get rid of his engagements, would be conſidered as a ſcoundrel; while a collective body do not bluſh at tranſactions for which an individual would be kicked out of ſociety. Had the different ſtates *honeſtly* complied with the requiſitions of congreſs, we ſhould at this period have had an army in the field equal to any exigence of ſervice. How contrary has been their conduct! Of the recruits which have come in, to ſay nothing of their deficiency in point of number, few of

July 26.

them

them will be able, before the expiration of their inliſt- 1781.
ments, to perform the duties of a ſoldier. When I have ſeen boys of a yard and a half long paraded for muſter, abſolutely incapable of ſuſtaining the weight of a ſoldier's accoutrements, and have been told that theſe ſhadows have been ſent as part of the ſtates quota, I have curſed the duplicity of my countrymen, and pronounced them unworthy the bleſſings of freedom. The army at large conſidered this conduct of their reſpective ſtates as a vile impoſition; and we began to ſend back the unqualified recruits; but ſo proportionably great was their number, that we were obliged to retain many, who, though they are not at preſent, yet may in a campaign or two be in ſome degree ſerviceable. This is no exaggerated picture. It might, by a deeper colouring, be made a more ſtriking likeneſs."

The continental army, by taking a poſition near New York and its ſeveral movements, confirmed Sir H. Clinton in the belief of that intelligence he had procured by the interception of Waſhington's letters, and led him to withdraw a conſiderable part of the troops under the command of Cornwallis, as a reinforcement to his own garriſon. This led Waſhington to obſerve on the 30th—"From the change of circumſtances with which this withdraw will be attended, we ſhall probably entirely change our plan of operations. I conclude the enemy's capital poſt will be at Portſmouth." By great exertions and powerful aids from the Maſſachuſetts and Rhode Iſland, the heavy artillery, ſtores, &c. were brought to the North river in a manner beyond his expectation; Aug.
as he himſelf acknowledged on the 2d of Auguſt; but 2.
on the ſame day he complained—"I am not ſtronger

at

1781. at this advanced period of the campaign, than when the army firſt moved from winter quarters. Not a ſingle man has joined me, except 176 militia from Connecticut, who arrived at Weſt Point yeſterday, and 80 of the York levies, and about 200 ſtate troops of Connecticut, both of which corps were upon the lines previous to leaving winter cantonments." However, in caſe the attempt againſt New York muſt be laid aſide, he conſoled himſelf with this thought—"The detachment left in Virginia ſeems the next object, and will be very practicable ſhould we obtain a naval ſuperiority." It was very diſtreſſing to find, that the ſtates either would or could not fill their continental battalions, or afford the aids of militia required from them. At length, a letter from the count de Graſſe, with intelligence that his deſtination was fixed to the Cheſapeak, ſettled the point by leaving no alternative; on which a joint anſwer from gen. Waſhington and count de Rochambeau was ſent to
Aug. 17. de Graſſe on the 17th, to give him notice of their determination to remove the whole of the French army, and as large a detachment of the Americans as could be ſpared to the Cheſapeak, there to meet his excellency. The appearance of an attack upon New York however was ſtill continued, and to induce the firmeſt perſuaſion of its being intended, ovens were erected oppoſite to Staten Iſland at the mouth of the Rariton for the uſe of the French forces. While this deception was playing off againſt Sir Henry Clinton, the allied army croſſed
24. the North river on the 24th, and puſhed for Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th about three o'clock in the afternoon, and were ſaluted by firing of guns and ringing of bells; and in the evening with bonfires

and

and illuminations. While the allies were marching, the royaliſts at New York were pleaſing themſelves with this intelligence publiſhed in their Gazette of Auguſt the 25th.—"A gentleman juſt arrived from Jerſey informs us, that young Laurens lately paſſed through that province on his return from Paris, and has brought the following very intereſting intelligence, that THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY HAD DECLARED HIMSELF THE ALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN, [all in large capitals] which threw the court of Verſailles into much confuſion, as, in conſequence of this great event, the French nation muſt withdraw all ſupport from their new allies, the rebels of this continent; and we are informed it has, with another concurring circumſtance, occaſioned Mr. Waſhington and the count de Rochambeau to quit their *menacing* poſition at White Plains. We are alſo told, that the French admiral is embarking all the ſick troops on board his ſquadron, from which it is ſuggeſted that their fleet and army are to be withdrawn from Rhode Iſland, to ſtrengthen themſelves in the Weſt Indies. It is ſaid, that the French and rebels left their ground the day after Mr. Waſhington received the mortifying account of the emperor's alliance with his old friend the court of Great Britain." The ſeaſonable arrival of lieut. col. Laurens at the northward, and his journey through Jerſey to Philadelphia, afforded the opportunity of fabricating ſuch information to aſſiſt in diſguiſing the movement of the allied army *. On the 4th of September, Waſhington wrote to gen. Greene —"The plan has been totally changed, occaſioned by a variety of circumſtances, two only need be mentioned, 1781. Sept. 4.

* A letter to Mr. Jenkinſon, printed for Debrett, 1781.

the

1781. the arrival of more than 2000 Germans at New York, and a certain information that de Graſſe would make his firſt appearance in the Cheſapeak, commence his operations in Virginia, and could not continue long on the coaſts. I am now advanced to Philadelphia with more than 2000 American infantry, a regiment of artillery, and ſuch apparatus for a ſiege as we could command."

The ſubſequent operations of the allied troops muſt be related the next opportunity: only let me mention how the French behaved, while reſiding at Newport, and on their march to Philadelphia. During their whole ſtay at Newport, they did not damage the property of the inhabitants to the amount of a hundred dollars. The towns people could walk about in the evening and at night, with as much ſafety as if there were no troops in the place. Officers of the firſt rank and quality converſed with traders, merchants and gentlemen, whenever the language of either was enough underſtood to admit of it, with the utmoſt affability. Their eaſy manners and condeſcending civility endeared them to the citizens among whom they were quartered; and produced compariſons between them and the bulk of Britiſh officers who had been before among them, no wiſe to the advantage of the latter. When the ſoldiers were encamped out of Newport, the cows grazing in the adjoining fields were never injured, or ſo much as milked. They were rather a guard than a nuiſance. The voice of individuals and of the people at large, commended them for their exemplary behaviour. When they marched through the country in their way to the American army, their two columns obſerved uncommon regula-

rity;

rity; and a gentleman in a public character told me, 1781.
that when they paſſed through his town, they did not do more damage than if they had been a couple of American corporals guards. The ſame conduct was practiſed elſewhere. Every care was taken to put the inhabitants to the leaſt poſſible inconvenience: theſe were agreeably ſurpriſed at finding that ſuch a number of men in arms could occaſion ſo little diſturbance and trouble. They were welcome gueſts too, as they paid punctually for all they wanted, with hard money. Here let it be remarked, that the abundance of hard money which was brought into the United States, for the ſupport of the French navy and army, furniſhed a quantity of caſh that was extremely uſeful to the Americans, and in a degree checked the rapid growth of their diſtreſſes through the expiring ſtate of the paper currency. The union of theſe ſeveral particulars, and the expectation of further benefits in military operations, placed the Americans and French on the moſt friendly footing, though a few years before they had been in the habit of reviling, hating and fighting with each other.

Accounts of the military and naval operations at Penſacola and in the Weſt Indies having reached the continent, the ſame ſhall now be related.

Don Bernardo de Galvez having extended his views to the taking of Penſacola, and thereby completing the conqueſt of Weſt Florida, went to the Havannah to forward and take upon him the command of the force deſtined for that ſervice. Soon after the fleet had ſailed, it was nearly ruined by a hurricane. Four capital ſhips, beſide others, were loſt; and all on board periſhed to the amount of more than 2000. The remainder of the

1781. fleet put back to the Havannah; the critical arrival of four ſtore ſhips from Spain, enabled them to refit ſpeedily; and five ſail of the line, with ſmaller veſſels, were diſpatched to conduct Don Galvez, with between 7 and 8000 land forces, on the expedition. They arrived before Penſacola on the 9th of March, and were followed in time by Don Solano with the remainder of the fleet, the whole amounting to 15 ſail of the line. The entrance of the harbour could not be long defended againſt ſo great a power. The paſſage was forced; the landing effected; the ground broken, and the ſiege commenced in form by ſea and land. The garriſon was weak; and compoſed of the remains of Britiſh regiments, of Maryland and Pennſylvania royaliſts, of Waldeckers, ſailors, marines, inhabitants and negroes.

Mar. 9.

By the prudent management of gen. Campbell, there was not the ſmalleſt diſcordance in ſo motley a garriſon; and to their praiſe, they behaved bravely and patiently through every part of the ſiege. The defence was vigorous. In the firſt week of May the Spaniards had done nothing deciſive; and yet they were not ſlack in advancing their works. The fate of the place was inevitable; but the reduction of it would have coſt them conſiderably more time and trouble, if an accident had not fruſtrated the hopes of the beſieged. The falling of a bomb, near the door of the magazine belonging to the redoubt, and which lay under its centre, decided the fate of Penſacola. The burſting of the bomb forced open the door; ſet fire to the powder within; and in an inſtant the whole redoubt was nearly a heap of rubbiſh. Two flank works ſtill remained entire; and through the coolneſs and intrepidity of the officers who com-

commanded in them, and the excellent uſe they made of their artillery, the beſiegers, who ruſhed on to take advantage of the confuſion and to ſtorm the place, were in their firſt onſet repulſed. By this brave exertion, time was obtained to carry off the wounded, and ſuch artillery as was not buried in the ruins. But the enemy bringing on their whole force to attack the flank works, they were neceſſarily abandoned. In theſe circumſtances, and without the moſt diſtant hope of relief, it would have been madneſs to contend longer. An honorable capitulation was obtained by Mr. Cheſter the governor, and gen. Campbell. The place was delivered up on the 9th of May. The Britiſh troops were allowed to march out with the honors of war; were to be conducted to one of the ports belonging to Great Britain, the port of Auguſtine and the iſland of Jamaica only excepted; and were not to ſerve againſt Spain or her allies until properly exchanged. The Americans are not pleaſed that the exception was not extended; as it left the Britiſh at liberty to ſend them to New York, where a part of them arrived in a polacre on the 4th of July. 1781. May 9.

Sir George Rodney, in conſequence of information concerning the French fleet under the count de Graſſe, detached the admirals, Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with 17 ſail of the line, to cruiſe off Fort Royal for the purpoſe of intercepting him. On the 28th of April, ſome of Sir Samuel's headmoſt ſhips returned haſtily in ſight, and with ſignals announced the appearance of a ſuperior fleet and a numerous convoy to the windward of Point Salines. The admiral made the ſignal for a general chace to windward: and at night it was determined April 28.

1781. mined by the admirals to continue the line a-head (which had been previouſly formed) ſo that getting as much as poſſible to windward, they might cloſe in with Fort Royal at day light, and cut off the enemy from the harbour. In the morning the French appeared, their convoy keeping cloſe in with the land, while count de Graſſe drew up his fleet in a line of battle a-breaſt for their protection: notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of the Britiſh, he was joined by four ſhips of the line and a fifty from Fort Royal harbour. The Britiſh commanders uſed every manœuvre to bring him to cloſe action: but he being to windward, and ſo having the choice, preferred a long ſhot diſtance. A partial engagement commenced. The van and the neareſt ſhips in the centre of the Britiſh, were expoſed to a long and heavy weight of fire in their ſtruggles to cloſe the French and get to the windward: but ſuffered chiefly in their maſts, hulls and rigging. The action laſted about three hours; when Sir Samuel Hood, finding that not one ſhot in ten of the French reached, and that his attempts to gain the wind were fruitleſs, ceaſed firing. Five ſhips were rendered unfit for immediate ſervice; and the Ruſſel received ſo many ſhots between wind and water, that ſhe was obliged to bear away for Statia. The count de Graſſe had now a decided ſuperiority; and the following day would have brought on a cloſe engagement, which was prevented by the unexpected manœuvres of Sir Samuel. After various movements on the part of the two fleets through the day, the Britiſh bore away in the night for Antigua. The French purſued in the morning, came up with the Tonbay (which received ſeveral ſhot and ſome damage before

fore ſhe could be relieved) and continued the purſuit 1781.
through the reſt of the day, but languidly.

The arrival of the Ruſſel indicated to Sir George Rodney the danger of attending longer to the ſale of the effects of Statia. She was repaired with the utmoſt expedition, and in three days after her arrival, adm. Rodney and gen. Vaughan, with the Sandwich, Triumph, Ruſſel, and ſome land forces, proceeded to join Sir Sam. Hood and to protect the iſlands. After ſome time the Britiſh fleet ſailed from Antigua to Barbadoes. Meanwhile the marquis de Bouille, with a body of troops May
under the viſcount Damas, landed in the night at St. 10.
Lucie, whoſe garriſon was weak. The accidental arrival of a frigate, and of two ſloops of war, who inſtantly landed their ſeamen and marines to man the batteries, contributed much to the preſervation of the iſland. The moſt vigorous preparations were made by gen. St. Leger for the defence of the different poſts. The French fleet, of 25 ſail of the line, bore down with a view of anchoring in Groſs Iſlet Bay; but were received with ſo ſevere a fire, that they retired to leeward. The marquis reimbarked his troops in the night, and the whole fleet ſtood over to Martinico the next morning.

On the day Sir George Rodney arrived at Barbadoes 23.
with the fleet, a ſmall French ſquadron, with about 1200 land forces, appeared off Tobago, and the troops were landed the next day. Gov. Ferguſon immediately diſpatched the Rattleſnake with intelligence to the admiral; and the captain had the good fortune to deliver the diſpatch at 12 o'clock on the night of the 26th. Rodney not conceiving aright either of the force of the invaders,

1781. or the ſtrength of the garriſon, contented himſelf with ſending Drake with ſix ſail of the line, ſome frigates, a regiment, and two additional companies to the relief of the iſland. Drake was inſtructed, after landing the forces, and endeavouring to deſtroy the ſquadron by which Tobago was inveſted, to rejoin Rodney without a moment's loſs of time. On the day he left Barbadoes, Sir George received information that the French grand fleet was apparently ſtanding toward Tobago. When Drake made it on the morning of the 30th, he diſcovered de Graſſe with ſeveral ſhips to leeward, between him and the iſland. He explored the count's ſituation and ſtrength; and on obſerving that it conſiſted of 27 ſail of the line, ſo that it was impoſſible to afford any relief to the iſland, he hauled his wind and ſailed back; but was purſued to a conſiderable diſtance, while two of his ſwifteſt frigates were diſpatched to inform Rodney of his return. Drake arrived in ſight of Carliſle-bay on the 2d of June, but the remainder of the Britiſh fleet did not come out till the following day. The French had landed on the 31ſt of May, another body of 1200 men; while the force employed for the defence of Tobago, including regulars, militia and ſeamen, amounted only to 427 whites, beſide a ſmall party of 40 armed negroes. Theſe were encamped on mount Concordia; where they remained from the 25th of May to the 1ſt of June, when they evacuated the poſt at one in the morning, and retired to their laſt faſtneſs, the way to which was extremely difficult. The marquis de Bouille purſued the garriſon with the utmoſt eagerneſs; but finding his troops overcome by the heat, while the fugitives were ſtill four miles a-head of him, and that he could

May 29.

31.

could not even procure any perſon who would conduct 1781.
his troops through the intricate ways they had to paſs, he determined upon making terror unite with force in the ſhortening of a buſineſs, which might be not only tedious, but prove an hinderance to other great objects ſtill in view. He accordingly ordered two capital plantations, which were neareſt at hand, to be reduced to aſhes; and perceiving that their deſtruction did not produce the deſired effect, he ordered that four more ſhould meet with a ſimilar fate at the commencement of every four hours, till a ſurrender ſhould be made to the morning ſummons he had ſent to the garriſon. The militia now abſolutely refuſed to hold out any longer. All the governor's remonſtrances were in vain. The commanding officer of the regulars refuſed to obey his orders, and the ſoldiers determined to capitulate. The governor was at length prevailed on to conſent to a capi- June
tulation, which took place on the 2d of June. The 2.
conditions were exceedingly favorable and advantageous to the iſland.

The Britiſh fleet, amounting to 20 or 21 ſhips of the line, were ſoon informed on their arrival off Tobago of the loſs of the iſland. The next day they were in ſight of the French fleet, conſiſting of 24 ſail of the line. The Britiſh ſhips were cleared with the utmoſt alacrity for action. Count de Graſſe was to leeward, and ſeemed more diſpoſed to ſeek than to ſhun an engagement: the option was on the ſide of Sir George Rodney, who in the preſent inſtance declined fighting, and probably on very warrantable grounds. Soon after, the count ſailed for Martinico.

Certain acts of congreſs here deſerve to be noticed.

1781. May 26. On the 26th of May, Mr. Morris, twelve days after he had ſignified his acceptance of the office of ſuperintendant of finance, had the ſatisfaction of learning, that the congreſs had that day approved of the plan for eſtabliſhing a national bank in the United States, which he had ſubmitted to their conſideration on the 17th. They reſolved to promote and ſupport it; and that the ſubſcribers ſhould be incorporated under the name of—*The preſident, directors and company of the bank of North America.* They alſo recommended to the ſeveral ſtates the making of proper laws for the prevention of other banks or bankers being eſtabliſhed or allowed within the ſaid ſtates reſpectively during the war. It is thought, that this bank will be of eminent ſervice to the United States, and tend greatly to leſſen their embarraſſments; and that it will be no leſs beneficial to the public than to the individual ſubſcribers.

June 14. Congreſs agreed "That the miniſter plenipotentiary at Verſailles, be authorized to offer lieut. gen. Burgoyne in exchange for the honorable Henry Laurens. On July 23. July the 23d, they reſolved—"That five ſuitable perſons be appointed and authorized to open a ſubſcription for a loan of 30,000 dollars, for the ſupport of ſuch of the citizens of South Carolina and Georgia, as have been driven from their country and poſſeſſions by the enemy, the ſaid ſtates reſpectively, by their delegates in congreſs, pledging their faith for the repayment of the ſums ſo lent with intereſt, in proportion to the ſums which ſhall be received by their reſpective citizens, as ſoon as the legiſlatures of the ſaid ſtates ſhall ſeverally be in condition to make proviſion for ſo doing, and congreſs hereby guaranteeing this obligation:—That the ſaid

ſaid five perſons do alſo receive voluntary and free dona- 1781.
tions to be applied to the further relief of the ſaid ſufferers:—Ordered, That the preſident ſend a copy of the above reſolution to the executives of the ſeveral ſtates not in the power of the enemy, requeſting them to promote the ſucceſs of the ſaid loan and donation in ſuch way as they ſhall think beſt."

To your comprehending this reſolution, you muſt be informed of the following particulars. In June, a general exchange of priſoners was agreed to for the ſouthern ſtates, in which the militia on both ſides were reſpectively exchanged for each other. Notwithſtanding every difficulty, a conſiderable number of the inhabitants had perſeveringly refuſed to become Britiſh ſubjects. Theſe being exchanged, were delivered, as well as the continental officers, at the American poſts in Virginia and Pennſylvania. The ſuffering friends of independence exulted at the proſpect of their being releaſed from confinement, and reſtored to activity in their country's cauſe: but their proſpects were obſcured by the diſtreſſes brought on their families by this otherwiſe deſirable event. On the 25th of June the Britiſh commandant at Charleſtown, lieut. col. Balfour, iſſued the following order—"As many perſons lately exchanged as priſoners of war, and others who have long choſe to reſide in the colonies now in rebellion, have, notwithſtanding ſuch their abſence, wives and families ſtill remaining here, the weight of which, on all accounts, it is equally impolitic as inconſiſtent ſhould longer be ſuffered to reſt on the government eſtabliſhed here and the reſources of it—The commandant is therefore pleaſed to direct, that all ſuch women, children and others as above deſcribed, ſhould

1781. ſhould quit this town and province on or before the firſt day of Auguſt next enſuing; of which regulation all ſuch perſons are hereby ordered to take notice, and to remove themſelves accordingly."

Here let me introduce an account of the manner in which moſt of the whig ladies conducted while they remained in Charleſtown. They ſhowed an amazing fortitude, and the ſtrongeſt attachment to the cauſe of their country, and gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies. Neither ſoothing perſuaſions, nor menacing hints, nor their own natural turn for gaiety and amuſement, could prevail on them to grace the ball or aſſembly with their preſence, to oblige the Britiſh officers with their hand in a dance, or even to accompany them, notwithſtanding the engaging qualities that many of them poſſeſſed. But no ſooner was an American officer introduced as a priſoner, than his company was ſought for and his perſon treated with every poſſible mark of attention and reſpect. They even viſited the priſon ſhips and other places of confinement to ſolace their ſuffering countrymen. At other ſeaſons they retired in a great meaſure from the public eye, wept over the diſtreſſes of their country, and gave every proof of the warmeſt attachment to its ſuffering cauſe. In the height of the Britiſh conqueſts, when poverty and ruin ſeemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, they diſcovered more firmneſs than the men. Many of them, like guardian angels, preſerved their huſbands from falling in the hour of temptation, when intereſt and convenience had almoſt gotten the better of honor and patriotiſm. Many examples could be produced of their

cheerfully

cheerfully parting with their ſons, huſbands and brothers 1781.
(among thoſe who were baniſhed, and whoſe property was ſeized by the conquerors) exhorting them to fortitude, and repeatedly entreating them never to ſuffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. Such exemplary patriotiſm excited in ſeveral Britiſh officers a mean reſentment, which put them upon employing the negroes in rude inſults on thoſe diſtinguiſhed heroines. When the ſucceſſes of gen. Greene afforded the latter an opportunity, they adopted a genteel retaliation by dreſſing in green and ornamenting their perſons with green feathers and ribbons, and thus parading the ſtreets in triumph.

The gentlemen, who had been removed from Charleſtown to St. Auguſtine, as has been already related, obtained their releaſe by the general exchange, and were delivered at Philadelphia. They had ſuffered greatly ſince they were ſent off. Lieut. gov. Gadſden, to expreſs his indignation at the ungenerous treatment he had met with, refuſed to accept an offered parole in St. Auguſtine; and with the greateſt fortitude, bore a cloſe confinement in the caſtle for forty-two weeks, rather than give a ſecond parole to a power which he conſidered as having plainly violated the engagement contained in the firſt. The other gentlemen renewed their paroles and had the liberty of the town, but were treated with much indignity. As if no dependence could be placed on their honor, they were ordered every day to appear on the public parade, and to anſwer to their names at roll calling. For upward of ten months they were debarred from correſponding with their wives and families, unleſs they would ſubject every letter to examination.

1781. nation. Deſtitute of gold and ſilver, they could ſcarcely ſupport themſelves; and were leſs able to provide for their connections, who were left in want and in the power of the conquerors. The earlieſt alleviation of their ſorrows, after the cartel had been ſettled, was denied to them. Though their wives and children, who had been left in Charleſtown, were ordered to Philadelphia at the ſame time with themſelves, Balfour gave expreſs direction that they ſhould not be ſuffered to touch at Charleſtown. More than a thouſand perſons were, by the meaſures of the commandant, exiled from their homes, and thrown on the charity of ſtrangers for their ſupport. Huſbands and wives, parents and children, ſome of whom had been for ſeveral months ſeparated from each other, were doomed to have their firſt interview in a diſtant land. To alleviate the diſtreſſes of theſe and ſimilar ſufferers, congreſs paſſed the preceding reſolution. The propriety of it was ſtill more apparent ſome time after, when what had been tranſacted at Charleſtown was known. Several of the exchanged perſons were owners of landed property in that town; and by the capitulation had an undoubted right to diſpoſe of it for their own advantage. They were however debarred that liberty by the following order, iſſued on the 11th of July—"The commandant is pleaſed to direct, that no perſon, living under the rebel government, ſhall have liberty, or grant power to others for ſo doing, to let or leaſe any houſe within this town without a ſpecial licenſe for ſo doing, as it is intended to take all ſuch houſes as may be wanted for the public ſervice, paying to the owners of thoſe ſecured by the capitulation a reaſonable rent for the ſame, as by this means government

ment will be enabled to reinſtate its firm friends in poſ- 1781.
ſeſſion of their own houſes within a ſhort ſpace of time." In conſequence of this mandate, the exchanged ſufferers could make no preſent advantage of their property in Charleſtown, and were ſubjected to the pleaſure of the Britiſh for any future compenſation.

When the general exchange took place in June, out of nineteen hundred priſoners taken at the ſurrender of Charleſtown, on the 12th of May, 1780, and ſeveral hundreds more taken afterward at Camden and Fiſhing Creek, on the 16th and 18th of Auguſt, only ſeven hundred and forty were reſtored to the ſervice of their country. The unfortunate men were crowded on board the priſon ſhips in ſuch numbers, that ſeveral were obliged to ſtand up for want of room to lie down. Congreſs could not command hard money for their relief. Wine, and ſuch like comforts, particularly neceſſary for the ſick in ſouthern climates, could not be obtained from the Britiſh hoſpitals. Many died. But it was not by deaths alone that the Americans were deprived of their ſoldiers. Lord Charles-Greville Montague inliſted 530 of them for the Britiſh ſervice in Jamaica.

The exchange brought relief to the continental officers taken at Charleſtown. They were confined to Haddrell's Point and its vicinity. Far from friends and deſtitute of hard money, they were reduced to the greateſt ſtraits. Many of them, though born in affluence and habituated to attendance, were compelled to do not only the moſt menial offices for themſelves, but could ſcarcely procure the plaineſt neceſſaries of life. During a captivity of thirteen months, they received no more from their country than nine days pay. They were debarred

1781. barred the liberty of fiſhing for their ſupport, though their great leiſure and many wants made it an object not only as an amuſement, but as a mean of ſupplying their neceſſities. After bearing theſe evils with fortitude, they were informed in March, by lieut. col. Balfour, that, by poſitive orders from lord Cornwallis, he was to ſend them to ſome one of the Weſt India iſlands. Preparations were made for the execution of the mandate; but the general exchange of priſoners rendered them abortive.

It appearing to congreſs from the repreſentation of the American gov. Clinton and other information, that commiſſions had been granted by the gov. of Connecticut, authorizing the perſons to whom they were given, among other things, to go on Long Iſland and other iſlands adjacent, and ſeize the goods and merchandiſe they ſhould there find, the property of Britiſh ſubjects; and that the ſaid commiſſions were attended with many abuſes dangerous to the public, as well as diſtreſſing to the citizens and friends of theſe United States, inhabiting the ſaid iſlands, ſome of whom, under pretext of the powers contained in ſuch commiſſions, had been plundered of their property, and otherwiſe badly treated: and that the further continuance of the ſaid commiſſions would impede the public ſervice in that quarter,—they

Aug. 7. "Therefore reſolved, that the gov. of Connecticut be, and he is hereby, deſired immediately to revoke ſuch commiſſions, ſo far as they authorize the ſeizure of goods on Long Iſland or elſewhere, on land not within the ſtate of Connecticut." It was high time to revoke them, for under their cover a ſet of unprincipled plunderers committed

mitted greater ravages upon many of the faſt friends of 1781.
America, than the words of congreſs fully expreſs.

In conſequence of inſtructions of Auguſt the 3d, gen. Waſhington wrote on the 21ſt—" The almoſt daily 21.
complaints of the ſeverities exerciſed toward the American marine priſoners in New York, have induced the congreſs to direct me to remonſtrate to the commanding officer of his Britiſh majeſty's ſhips upon the ſubject. The principal complaint now is, the inadequacy of the room in the priſon ſhips, to the number of priſoners confined on board them, which occaſions the death of many, and is the occaſion of moſt intolerable inconveniencies and diſtreſſes to thoſe who ſurvive." He had written early in the ſpring to Sir H. Clinton—" The very healthy condition, in which all priſoners have been returned by us ſince the commencement of the war, carries with it a conviction, that they have been uniformly and comfortably accommodated and fed on wholeſome proviſions. So conſcious have I been, that the ſituation in which we always kept priſoners of war would bear inſpection, that I have never been averſe to having them viſited by an officer of your own, who might be a witneſs to the propriety of their treatment. A requeſt of this nature was a very little time ago refuſed to us by the officer commanding the Britiſh navy in the harbour of New York."

On Auguſt the 21ſt, congreſs authorized gen. Waſhington to go into a full exchange of gen. Burgoyne, and all the remaining officers of the Saratoga convention; and reſolved that the priſoners taken by the Britiſh at the Cedars, ſhould be conſidered as ſubjects of exchange. That day week they ordered the board of war to make 28.
a ſale

1781. a ſale of certain cannon and ſtores in the ſtate of Rhode Iſland, for *ſpecie only*. This may be conſidered as a declarative act on their part againſt the further circulation of a paper currency. It has indeed ceaſed by common conſent. Without it the Americans could not have carried on the war to the preſent period. The public benefit it has been of in this inſtance, will compenſate in the eſtimation of patriotic politicians, for the immenſe evils of which it has otherwiſe been the occaſion. The tender laws on one hand, and depreciation on the other, rendered it the bane of ſociety. All claſſes were infected. It produced a rage for ſpeculating. The mechanic, the farmer, the lawyer, the phyſician, the member of congreſs, and even a few of the clergy, in ſome places, were contaminated, and commenced merchants and ſpeculators. The morals of the people were corrupted beyond any thing that could have been believed prior to the event. All ties of honor, blood, gratitude, humanity and juſtice were diſſolved. Old debts were paid in ſeveral ſtates when the paper money was more than 70 for one in hard caſh; and in Virginia when at 300 for one. Brothers defrauded brothers, children parents and parents children. Widows, orphans and others, who had lived happily on their annual intereſt, were impoveriſhed by being obliged to take depreciated paper for the ſpecie principal that had been lent; creditors were frequently compelled to receive their debts in that currency, from men who confeſſed before witneſſes, that the caſh they borrowed ſaved them and their families from ruin. A perſon who had been ſupplied with ſpecie in the jail at Philadelphia, while the Britiſh had poſſeſſion of the city, repaid it in paper afterward at a tenth

part

part of its value. No claſs of people ſuffered more by 1781.
the depreciation than ſalary-men, and eſpecially the clergy, particularly in the New England ſtates. They were reduced to the greateſt difficulties, and were much injured, by having their annual incomes paid them in paper, without having the badneſs of its quality compenſated in the quantity allowed them. When in the beginning of the year, ſome compenſation was voted to them in certain places, the increaſed depreciation, before the ſalary was paid, deſtroyed in a great meaſure the efficacy of the vote. It has been obſerved by ſome, that the quakers and methodiſts in Pennſylvania, were faithful to their old engagements, and were not corrupted by handling paper money. Though theſe denominations excelled, there were many individuals in all religious ſocieties through the United States that preſerved their integrity. As a ſtriking inſtance of the nature and effects of a depreciating paper currency, the following is related out of many. A merchant of Boſton ſold a hogſhead of rum, for twenty pounds, caſk included. The purchaſer did not ſettle for it, till after the ſeller applied to him for an empty hogſhead, for which he was charged thirty pounds. When they came to ſettle, the merchant found upon examining, that he had to pay a balance of ten pounds on that very caſk, which, with the rum it contained, he had ſold for twenty.

The extinction of the paper has occaſioned no convulſion; and the ſpecie which the French army and navy have already introduced, which the trade now opening with the Spaniſh and French Weſt India iſlands will furniſh, and which the loan from France will ſupply—this joint quantity added to what will now be brought into

1781. uſe by thoſe whoſe precaution led them to ſtore up their hard money, will prevent the miſchiefs that muſt otherwiſe have enſued from a total want of a circulating medium. The extraordinary change of this medium without ſhaking the United States to the very foundation, intimates a peculiarity in the circumſtances and diſpoſition of the Americans, diſtinguiſhing them from the inhabitants of old countries.

A few detached particulars remain to be related before the preſent letter is forwarded.

On the 11th of Auguſt, 3000 German troops arrived at New York from Europe. The ſame day the American frigate Trumbull was carried in by one of the king's ſhips. This capture has reduced the naval force of the United States to two frigates, the Alliance and the Deane. A number of fine privateers have alſo been taken by the royal navy; but there are ſtill a great many from the different ſtates which have been very ſucceſsful.

By various channels, and particularly the arrival of a French frigate from Breſt on the 15th of Auguſt, certain advice has been received of the French having captured a number of ſhips from Statia. It ſeems, that France determining to profit from the abſence of the Britiſh grand fleet, equipped 7 or 8 ſhips of the line at Breſt, which were ſent out in the beginning of May, under M. de la Motte Piquet, in order to intercept the Statia convoy, freighted with the moſt valuable commodities taken at that iſland, as well as a rich fleet on its way home from Jamaica. Mr. Piquet ſucceeded in the firſt part of the deſign. Commodore Hotham had only four ſhips for the protection of the Statia con-

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voy. Fourteen of the merchantmen were taken: but the men of war, with the remainder of the convoy, ſheltered themſelves in ſome of the weſtern ports of Ireland. The French commander conſidering the number and richneſs of the prizes, gave up all views upon the Jamaica fleet, and returned immediately to Breſt, by which mean he eſcaped falling in with the Britiſh ſquadron. We have learned, that the ſale of the prizes was advertiſed in France for the 10th of July laſt. 1781.

On the 25th of Auguſt, another French frigate arrived in Boſton, with two large veſſels under her convoy. They were on their paſſage 36 days longer than the frigate which arrived on the 15th. They have brought clothing, military ſtores, and a quantity of ſpecie. Col. Laurens returned by this conveyance. He reached France by the middle of March, and executed his commiſſion with great diſpatch and ſucceſs.

LETTER V.

Rotterdam, October 13, 1781.

FRIEND G.

COmmodore Johnſtone's ſquadron, which ſailed for the Eaſt Indies, conſiſted of a 74, a 64, and three 50 gun ſhips, beſide ſeveral frigates, a bomb veſſel, fire ſhip, and ſome ſloops of war. A land force, com-

1781. manded by gen. Meadows, and compoſed of three new regiments of 1000 each, accompanied it. Several outward bound Eaſt Indiamen, and ſtore or ordnance veſſels, went out with this convoy; and the whole fleet, including tranſports and armed ſhips, amounted to more than 40 ſail. The Dutch war undoubtedly occaſioned a change of the object of the armament, and the ſubſtitution of an attempt upon the Cape of Good Hope, inſtead of an enterpriſe againſt the Spaniards in South America. This change did not eſcape the penetration of France and Holland. The latter therefore applied to her new ally for aſſiſtance, to ward off the danger to which all her Eaſt India poſſeſſions would be expoſed, if Johnſtone ſucceeded. On that a ſquadron of five ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates, with a body of land forces, were deſtined to this ſervice, under Mr. de Suffrein, who ſailed from Breſt in company with count de Graſſe. The naval part of the armament was ultimately deſigned to oppoſe the Britiſh fleet in the Eaſt Indies: but Suffrein's particular inſtructions were to purſue and counter-act Johnſtone, upon every occaſion and in every poſſible manner, keeping at the ſame time a conſtant eye to the effectual protection of the Cape. The court of Verſailles was accurately informed of Johnſtone's force, and of all the circumſtances attending the convoy; and might not be totally ignorant of his courſe, any more than of his deſtination.

Commodore Johnſtone put into the Cape de Verd iſlands for water and freſh proviſions. There being no particular apprehenſion of an enemy, the ſhips lay without much care or order, in an open harbour belonging to the principal town of St. Jago, the moſt conſiderable

of

of the iſlands. A great number of the crews were abſent from the ſhips, and were engaged in various occupations, neceſſary to the preparation or ſupply of ſo many veſſels for ſo long a voyage. Several officers and men were on ſhore partaking of the health and recreation of the iſland. In this unprepared ſtate, the Iſis man of war diſcovered in the morning a ſquadron approaching the entrance of the harbour, which was ſoon judged to be French. Signals were inſtantly thrown out for unmooring, for recalling the people on ſhore, and preparing for action. The Britiſh fleet was taken at a great diſadvantage. Mr. de Suffrein, leaving his convoy, was ſoon in the centre of it; the French ſhips firing on both ſides as they paſſed. The French Hannibal of 74 guns led the way with great intrepidity, under the command of Mr. de Tremingnon. When as near to the Britiſh as he could fetch, he dropped his anchor with a noble air of reſolution. The Heros of the ſame force, Mr. de Suffrein's own ſhip, took the next place; and the Arteſien of 64, anchored aſtern of the Heros. The Vengeur and Sphynx, of 64 guns each, ranged up and down as they could through the crowd of ſhips, and fired on either ſide at every one they paſſed. Commodore Johnſtone's own ſhip, being too far advanced toward the bottom of the bay, and too much intercepted by the veſſels that lay between to take an active part in the action, he quitted her and went on board another. The engagement laſted about an hour and a half. Some time after it began, ſeveral of the Eaſt India ſhips fired with good effect on the French. In about an hour the ſituation of the French ſhips at anchor became too intolerable to be endured; and the captain of the Arteſien

1781. April 16.

1781. being killed, ſhe cut her cable, and made the beſt of her way out. Suffrein deſerted by his ſecond aſtern, found the danger ſo great that he followed the example. The Hannibal was now left alone to be fired at by every ſhip whoſe guns could be brought to bear on her, while ſhe herſelf was ſo injured, that her returns were ſlow and ineffective. She loſt her bowſprit and all her maſts, and remained a mere hulk upon the water. She however joined the other ſhips at the mouth of the bay; was towed off and aſſiſted in erecting jury maſts. The commodore purſued, but the damage ſuſtained by the Iſis, the nature of the winds and currents, with the lateneſs of the day, concurred in preventing his renewing the engagement. The French bore away no trophy of the action. Conſidering the cloſeneſs of it, the ſmoothneſs of the water, with the number and crowded ſituation of the ſhipping, the loſs of men was very ſmall.

May 2. The Britiſh fleet ſailed from St. Jago, and toward the middle of June, the commodore diſpatched capt. Pigot, with ſome of the beſt ſailing frigates and cutters, toward the ſouthern extremity of Africa, to gain intelligence if poſſible of the ſtate of the enemy in that quarter, with inſtructions to rejoin him at a given point of latitude and longitude. Pigot fell in with and took a large Dutch Eaſt India ſhip, from Saldanha bay near the Cape. She was laden with ſtores and proviſions, had on board 40,000l. in bullion, and was bound for the iſle of Ceylon. From her the commodore learned, that Suffrein, with five ſhips of the line, moſt of his tranſports, and a conſiderable body of troops, had arrived at the Cape on the 21ſt of June; and that ſeveral homeward bound Dutch Eaſt India ſhips were then at anchor

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in Saldanha bay, about 14 leagues to the northward of the Cape town and fort. The timely arrival of the French ſquadron having fruſtrated the deſigns of the Britiſh againſt the Cape, Johnſtone determined to profit by what was yet within reach, and to attempt poſſeſſing himſelf of the Dutch ſhips in the bay of Saldanha. The ſcheme was well conducted. The Dutch had hardly time, from the diſcovery to the coming up of the Britiſh ſhips, to looſe their veſſels, cut their cables, and run them on ſhore. The men of war's boats being inſtantly manned, the ſeamen with great alacrity boarded the Indiamen already ſet on fire, extinguiſhed the flames, and ſaved four large ones, from 1000 to 1100 tons each. Johnſtone's diſpatches were dated the 21ſt of Auguſt. 1781.

Several of the Engliſh counties aſſociated and choſe delegates, to give ſupport and efficacy to the ſubject of their former petitions to parliament. About 40 of the delegates met in London. As acting for their conſtituents, they prepared a petition to the houſe of commons, in which the ſubſtance of thoſe already preſented being compreſſed within a narrower compaſs, the matters of grievance and the redreſs propoſed were brought forward in one clear point of view. But to obviate difficulties and prevent objections, they ſigned the petition merely as individual freeholders, without any aſſumption or avowal of their delegated powers or character. The petition was preſented by Mr. Duncombe, one of the repreſentatives of the county of York, and continued for ſome weeks on the table, till the recovery of Sir George Saville, who was to proceed with the buſineſs. Sir George introduced his motion for referring the petition (after the firſt reading) to a committee, with 8.

1781. a ſpeech of very conſiderable length. After a long debate, the motion for committing the petition was overruled by a majority of 160 to 86.

The war with the Dutch made it neceſſary for the Britiſh to have a force in the north ſeas, capable of injuring their commerce on that ſide on the one hand, and of protecting their own on the other; as alſo of cutting off the Dutch from receiving ſupplies of naval ſtores wherewith to reſtore their marine. This important ſervice was intruſted to the conduct of admiral Hyde Parker. The admiral ſailed from Portſmouth the beginning of June, with four ſhips of the line, and a fifty gun ſhip for the north ſeas. Mean while Holland ſtrained every nerve for the equipment of a force, that might be able to convoy their outward bound trade to the Baltic, and to protect its return, if not to intercept the Britiſh, and become maſters of thoſe ſeas. Some days after the middle of July, admiral Zoutman and commodore Kindſbergen ſailed from the Texel, with a great convoy under their protection. Their force conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line from 54 to 74 guns, of 10 frigates and 5 ſloops. Several of the frigates were very large. Admiral Parker was on his return with a large convoy from Elſineur. He had been joined by ſeveral frigates ſince his leaving Portſmouth, and by the Dolphin of 44 guns, and in this criſis he was reinforced by a 74. His fleet conſiſted of an 80 gun ſhip, two 74's, a 64, a 60, a 50, a 44, a 40, a 38, a 36, a 32, and a cutter of 10 guns.

Aug. 5. The hoſtile fleets came in ſight of each other on the Dogger-Bank early in the morning of the 5th of Auguſt. One of the Dutch line of battle ſhips had return-

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ed to port; but as a forty-four gun ſhip was ſubſtituted 1781.
in her place, their line ſtill conſiſted of eight two deckers. The Britiſh commander perceiving the number and ſtrength of the Dutch frigates, detached the convoy with orders to keep their wind, ſending his own frigates along with them for their protection, and then threw out a general ſignal to the ſquadron to chaſe. The Dutch likewiſe ſent off their convoy to a diſtance, when they drew up with great coolneſs in order of battle, and waited the attack with the utmoſt compoſure. Neither ſide practiſed any manœuvre to elude the deciſion of a naval action. The parties were equally determined to fight it out. A gloomy ſilence expreſſive of the moſt fixed reſolution prevailed, and not a gun was fired, until the fleets were within little more than piſtol ſhot diſtance. Adm. Parker in the Fortitude of 74 guns, ranging abreaſt of adm. Zoutman's ſhip, the Admiral de Ruyter of 68, the action commenced with the utmoſt fury and violence on both ſides. The cannonade continued without intermiſſion for three hours and forty minutes. Some of the Britiſh ſhips fired 2500 ſhot each. The effect of the ancient naval emulation was eminently diſplayed in the obſtinacy of the battle. In the beginning, the Britiſh fire was remarkably quick, while that of the Dutch was ſlow; when it cloſed, the caſe was reverſed, and the fire of the Dutch was remarkably quick, while that of the Britiſh was ſlow. The Britiſh ſhips at length were ſo unmanageable, that though their admiral made an effort to form the line that he might renew the action, he found it to be impracticable. His ſhips were ſhattered in their maſts, rigging and ſails. The Dutch were in a ſtill worſe condition, ſome of them having received

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1781. ſeveral ſhot under water. Both ſquadrons lay to a conſiderable time near each other. At laſt the Dutch bore away for the Texel; and the Britiſh were in no condition to follow them. The Hollandia of 68 guns, one of their beſt ſhips, went down in the night of the engagement ſo ſuddenly, that the crew were reduced to the melancholy neceſſity of abandoning their wounded when they quitted her. Though ſhe ſunk in 22 fathoms, her top-maſts were ſtill above water and her pendant flying, which being diſcovered in the morning by one of the Britiſh frigates, was ſtruck and carried to adm. Parker as a trophy. When the Dutch entered the Texel, an officer from the fleet went on board the Charleſtown frigate of 36 heavy guns upon one deck, which had been lying there the whole time, and related to the captain the particulars of the action.

The action was very bloody. On the ſide of the Britiſh, who were the leaſt ſufferers in that reſpect, 104 were killed, and 339 wounded in the ſeven ſhips that were engaged. Several brave officers fell on both ſides. The Britiſh regretted much the death of capt. Macartney, who left a widow and large family. His ſon, a boy of ſeven years old, was by his ſide when he was killed: his fortitude, as well upon that occaſion as through the whole action, aſtoniſhed the boldeſt ſeamen in the ſhip. Mr. Harrington, one of adm. Parker's lieutenants, an officer of 40 years ſervice, and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, was mortally wounded. Though of an affluent fortune and too much neglected, he nobly diſdained to withdraw his profeſſional abilities from the defence of his country in this trying ſeaſon. The Britiſh admiral's letter giving an account of the action was

conciſe, and modeſt with reſpect to his own ſide, while 1781.
juſt in paying full honor to the valor of his enemy. In Britain, the conduct and valor diſplayed in the action met with great and general approbation: but an apprehended neglect in government or the admiralty, in not furniſhing the admiral with a larger force, excited no leſs diſſatisfaction. It was ſaid, that, at the very time, as many ſhips were lying idle in port, or waiting for orders in the Downs, as would have enabled Parker to capture the whole Dutch fleet and convoy. The admiral's ſubſequent conduct, as well as an intimation given in his letter to the admiralty, ſtrongly confirmed the public opinion, and indicated that he was no leſs diſſatisfied at the want of ſupport, than others were at its not being given. On his arrival at the Nore with his ſhattered ſquadron, he was honored with a royal viſit: but it was ſoon underſtood, that no further honor or intended promotion would be accepted by the ſturdy veteran. The king went on board the Fortitude, where he had a levee of all the officers of the ſquadron, who were received with the moſt gracious attention; and the admiral had the honor of dining with his majeſty and the prince of Wales on board the royal yacht. We have been told, that upon that occaſion adm. Parker took an opportunity of hinting (in the preſence of the firſt lord of the admiralty and a number of naval officers) both his diſſatisfaction and intention of retiring, by ſaying to his ſovereign—"That he wiſhed him younger officers and better ſhips; and that he was grown too old for the ſervice." It was related alſo as an anecdote at the time, that young Macartney being *preſented* on board the Fortitude, and the royal intention of providing

1781. ing for him, for the ſake of his brave father, being declared, the admiral apologized for informing his majeſty, that he had already adopted him as his own. Adm. Parker reſigned his command immediately after: but it was probably intended as a mark of favor and regard to him, that his ſon Sir Hyde (who had been before knighted for his good conduct in North America and the Weſt Indies) was now appointed to the command of a ſquadron of frigates, which were employed in blocking up the Dutch ports during the remainder of the ſeaſon for keeping thoſe ſeas.

The Dutch, beſide loſing the Hollandia, had two of their capital ſhips ſo totally ruined in the action, as to be declared incapable of further ſervice. Their loſs of men is thought to have exceeded 1000 in killed, wounded and ſunk. The idea of proſecuting the voyage to the Baltic was given up; and their immenſe carrying trade was annihilated for the remainder of the year. The Hollanders however are much elated with the bravery of their countrymen. Before the naval battle on Dogger's Bank, every ſpring was touched to excite popular reſentments againſt the Americans and French, ſo that the regents of Amſterdam were under the neceſſity of taking the like precautions which would have been practiſed had an enemy been in the neighbourhood; and the gloom and deſpondency at the Hague and elſewhere was terrible: after it, the Dutchmen became courageous, and all their apprehenſions ſeemed to diſappear. This action being the firſt of any conſequence, in which they have been engaged for the much greater part of a century, the ſtates general were beyond meaſure liberal in the praiſe, rewards and honors, which they beſtowed on

their

their officers. Adm. Zoutman and commodore Kindſ- 1781.
bergen were immediately promoted; and moſt, if not all of the firſt and ſecond captains, as well as ſeveral of the lieutenants, were either advanced, or flattered with ſome peculiar mark of diſtinction. Count Bentinck, who boldly fought the Batavia, and who, though mortally wounded, and informed that his ſhip was in danger of ſinking, would not liſten to a propoſal for quitting his ſtation, was ſoothed in his laſt moments by every mark of honor and teſtimony of regard, which his country and his prince could beſtow; and his funeral was not more honorable to the brave dead, than to the grateful living. But however the Dutch have exulted in that the marine courage of their anceſtors had not forſaken them, they are much diſſatisfied that their fleet was not augmented by two or more ſhips, which they think would have ſecured to them a complete victory over the Britiſh admiral, and have put his convoy into their poſſeſſion. They are ready to impute this failure to a treacherous neglect, originating from a prevailing attachment in ſome to the intereſts of Great Britain.

The French, to remove all unfavorable jealouſies that the Spaniards might entertain reſpecting the attention of their ally to the Spaniſh intereſts, engaged to co-operate with them in attempting the recovery of Minorca—an event which, ſhould it take place, would be highly pleaſing to Spain, while it was no wiſe injurious to France. The plan being laid, the duke de Crillon, a French commander of repute, was taken into the Spaniſh ſervice, and appointed to conduct their forces to be employed in executing it. Count de Guichen ſailed from Breſt near the end of June, with 18 capital ſhips (four

of

1781. of which carried 110 guns each) to join the Spaniſh fleet and ſupport the invaſion. The not endeavouring to intercept this fleet, or at leaſt to prevent a junction ſo full of danger, occaſioned great complaint againſt the Britiſh admiralty, eſpecially the firſt lord of that department. The combined fleets ſailed from Cadiz, with about 10,000 Spaniſh troops, before the end of July. The French had been reinforced by ſeveral ſhips of the line. The Spaniſh fleet amounted to about 30 ſail of the line under Don Lewis de Cordova. The army effected its landing at Minorca without oppoſition on the
Aug. 20. 20th of Auguſt; and was ſoon joined by ſix regiments from Toulon, under major gen. count de Falkenhayn, deemed one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice. The garriſon was weak, and conſiſted only of two Britiſh and two Hanoverian regiments. But it was commanded by lieut. gen. Murray and major gen. Sir William Draper.

The combined fleets, after ſeeing the troops ſafe into the Mediterranean, returned to cruiſe at the mouth of the Britiſh channel. No intelligence of this naval manœuvre was obtained, nor was the deſign ſuſpected by the Britiſh miniſtry, until the combined fleets were in the chops of the channel, and had formed a line from Uſhant to the iſles of Scilly, in order to bar its entrance: ſo that adm. Darby, who was then at ſea with only 21 ſhips of the line, was on the point of falling in with them, when the accidental meeting of a neutral veſſel afforded him notice of their ſituation. In theſe unex-
24 pected circumſtances he returned to Torbay, where he moored his ſquadron acroſs the entrance, while he waited for inſtructions from the admiralty. As ſoon as

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the commanders of the combined fleets had received in- 1781.
telligence of Darby's poſition, and of the inferiority of his force in point of number, a council of war was held, on the queſtion of attacking him. They were under orders to fight, if the occaſion offered: but the inſtructions were thought not to reach the preſent caſe, which would be an attack on the Britiſh ſquadron in a bay on their own coaſts. Under this change of circumſtances, it was ſuppoſed, that they were left at large, to the free exerciſe of their own judgment.

The count de Guichen is ſaid to have contended ſtrongly for an immediate attack. He argued, that if by good fortune and the valor of the combined navies, along with the powerful aid of fireſhips, the Britiſh fleet was deſtroyed, the power of Great Britain on the ſeas would be at an end, and the war decided by the blow. Don Vincent Doz, the third of the Spaniſh commanders, ſupported this opinion. He aſſerted, that the deſtroying of Darby's fleet was very practicable, and that it would be difficult to excuſe their not making the attempt; and to give the greater weight to his ſentiments, he boldly offered to command the van ſquadron, and to lead on the attack in his own ſhip.

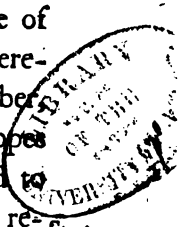
On the other hand, Mr. de Beauſſet, the next in command under Guichen, ſaid—"All the advantage which the allies derive from their ſuperiority of force and number, will be entirely loſt by an attack upon admiral Darby's fleet in the preſent ſituation; for we cannot bear down upon him in a line of battle abreaſt; of courſe we muſt form the line of battle a-head, and go down upon the enemy ſingly, by which we ſhall run the greateſt hazard of being ſhattered and torn to pieces, before

1781. before we can get into our ſtations, by the fixed aim and angular fire in every direction, of ſuch a number of great and well-provided ſhips, drawn up to the greateſt advantage, and lying moored and ſteady in the water. I conclude therefore, that as the attempt on the Britiſh fleet in Torbay will, in my opinion, be unwarrantable in the deſign, and exceedingly hazardous in the execution, the allied fleets ſhould direct their whole attention to that grand and attainable object of intercepting the Engliſh homeward bound Weſt India fleets." Don Louis de Cordova, with all the Spaniſh flag officers, except Doz, coincided entirely with him in opinion, ſo that the idea of attacking Darby in Torbay was abandoned.

Mean while a great alarm was ſpread in Ireland as well as Britain, with reſpect to the apprehended deſigns of the enemy. Not only the great outward bound fleet for America and the Weſt Indies was ſuppoſed to be in imminent danger then in the open harbour of Corke; but the city itſelf, being totally unfortified and at the ſame time ſtored with immenſe quantities of proviſion. The regular forces of the kingdom were therefore ordered to the ſouthward for the protection of that city and coaſt; and the patriotic volunteers, who had gained ſo much honor in ſupporting and reclaiming the liberties of their country, ſhowed no leſs patriotiſm in their immediate offer to government of taking the field, and of marching wherever their ſervices ſhould be neceſſary for its defence. They had perfected themſelves in the military exerciſe, and had been reviewed in ſeveral places by the earl of Charlemont.

Admiral

Admiral Darby remained at Torbay; but was ſoon 1781.
reinforced by ſeveral ſhips from different ports, till his ſquadron was increaſed to 30 ſail of the line, with which he was ordered to ſea with the utmoſt expedition, for the preſervation of the expected Weſt India convoy. The delay however of waiting for the reinforcement and inſtructions in the firſt inſtance, and contrary winds afterward, detained the fleet till the 14th of September, notwithſtanding the urgency of the occaſion. Before it ſailed, the combined fleets had ſeparated. They were in exceeding bad condition. In the firſt outſet they were poorly manned, the Spaniſh particularly. Beſide a great mortality, which had prevailed during the whole cruiſe, and a prodigious number of ſick in both fleets, a conſiderable majority of the ſhips were ſcarcely capable of living at ſea in a violent gale. The hard weather therefore that came on in the beginning of September fruſtrated all their views; ſo that abandoning all hopes of intercepting the Britiſh convoys, they were glad to get into port as ſoon as poſſible. The French fleet returned to Breſt the 11th of September, and the Spaniſh Sept. 11. proceeded directly home.



The preſent ſhall cloſe with extracts from ſome curious letters—To Mr. Vergennes. Paſſy, Feb. 13, 1781. "I am grown old, and it is probable I ſhall not long have any more concern in theſe affairs. I therefore take occaſion to expreſs my opinion to your excellency, that the preſent conjuncture is critical;—that there is ſome danger leſt the congreſs ſhould loſe its influence over the people, if it is unable to procure the aids that are wanted, and that the whole ſyſtem of the new government in America may thereby be ſhaken;—and that if

1781. the Engliſh are ſuffered once to recover the country, ſuch an opportunity of effectual operation may not occur again in the courſe of ages." To ——. March 12, 1781. "To give the ſtates a ſignal proof of his friendſhip, his majeſty has reſolved to grant them the ſum of ſix millions [of livres] not as a loan, but as a free gift. The ſum was intended for the ſupply of the army, and it was thought beſt to put it into the general's [Waſhington's] hands, that he ſhould draw for it, that it might not get into thoſe of the different boards or committees, who might think themſelves under a neceſſity of diverting it to other purpoſes. There was no room to diſpute on this point, every donor having the right of qualifying his gift with ſuch terms as he thinks proper.—The miniſter proceeded to inform me, that the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna had offered their mediation. It was not doubted, that congreſs would readily accept the propoſed mediation, from their own ſenſe of its being uſeful and neceſſary.—I have paſſed my ſeventy-fifth year." [Soon after this was written, col. Laurens arrived, which gave occaſion for mentioning] "July 26, 1781. With regard to the ſix millions given by the king in aid of our operations for the preſent campaign, before the arrival of Mr. Laurens, 2,500,000 of it went in the ſame ſhip with him in caſh—2,200,000 were ordered by him and are ſhipped—1,500,000 was ſent to Holland to go in the ſhip commanded by capt. Gillon."

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LETTER VI.

Roxbury, Jan. 12, 1782.

CERTAIN reſolutions of congreſs, as they refer to col. Laurens and the ſupplies from France (whoſe arrival has been mentioned) neceſſarily demand our firſt attention. On a report of a committee, to whom was referred a letter of the 2d of laſt September, together with ſundry papers, containing an account of the negotiation with which he was intruſted, congreſs reſolved on the 4th, "That all the clothing, artillery, arms and military ſtores, ſhipped in purſuance of the orders of the honorable John Laurens, for the uſe of the United States, be upon their arrival in any of the ports of theſe United States, delivered to the order of the board of war, who are hereby empowered and directed to take charge and direction of the ſame:—That all the money ſhipped by the order of Mr. Laurens, for the uſe of the United States, be, upon its arrival, delivered to the order of the ſuperintendant of finance, who is hereby empowered and directed to take charge of the ſame." The next day they reſolved—"That the conduct of lieut. col. Laurens, in his miſſion to the court of Verſailles, as ſpecial miniſter of the United States, is highly agreeable to congreſs, and entitles him to public approbation." To ſupply any deficiency that there might be in their reſolution reſpecting monies arriving from Europe, they reſolved on the 3d of December

1781. Sept. 4.

1781. cember—" That the ſuperintendant of the finances be, and hereby is authorized and directed to apply and diſpoſe of all monies which have been or may be obtained in Europe by ſubſidy, loan or otherwiſe, according to the ſeveral reſolutions and acts of congreſs now exiſting, or which may hereafter be made for the appropriation of monies belonging to the United States." However gratefully they thought of the French king's free gift, they could not with any propriety accede to the mode in which it was to be applied to the benefit of the United States. By paſſing into the hands of the commander in chief, it would ſubject the army to an appearance of being penſioned by France, and when generally known by the troops might looſen their relative dependence upon congreſs; they therefore wiſely directed, that the military ſtores ſhould be delivered to the order of the board of war, and that the diſpoſal of the monies ſhould reſt with the ſuperintendant, ſubject to their own appointments.

We muſt now paſs to South Carolina.

When the continental officers under gen. Greene had heard of the manner in which col. Hayne was executed, and that notwithſtanding the general cartel, ſeveral officers of militia were ſtill detained in captivity, they made a repreſentation thereof in writing to Greene on the 20th of Auguſt; and recommended, that a ſtrict inquiry ſhould be made into the ſeveral matters mentioned, and if aſcertained, that he would be pleaſed to retaliate in the moſt effectual manner, by a ſimilar treatment of Britiſh ſubjects which were or might be in his power. They voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to all the conſequences, to which they would be expoſed in caſe of capture.

capture. A few days after, Greene iſſued from his head 1781.
quarters at Camden a proclamation, wherein he expreſsly declared—" It is my intention to make repriſals for all ſuch inhuman inſults, as often as they ſhall take place." —He added, " I further declare, that it is my intention to take the officers of the regular forces, and not the ſeduced inhabitants who have joined their army, for the objects of my repriſals." Greene demanded alſo from the Britiſh commanders their reaſons for the execution of Hayne. He received a written anſwer, ſigned N. Balfour, in which there was an acknowledgment, " that it took place by the joint order of lord Rawdon and himſelf, but in conſequence of the moſt expreſs directions from lord Cornwallis, to put to death thoſe who ſhould be found in arms, after being at their own requeſts received as ſubjects, ſince the capitulation of Charleſtown, and the clear conqueſt of the province in the ſummer of 1780." General Greene replied to lieut. col. Balfour on the 19th of September—" Sir, your favor of the 3d inſtant I have received, and am happy for the honor of col. Hayne, to find nothing better to warrant his cruel and unjuſt execution, than the order of lord Cornwallis, given in the hour of victory, when he conſidered the lives, liberties and property of the people proſtrate at his feet: but I confeſs I cannot expreſs my aſtoniſhment, that you and lord Rawdon ſhould give ſuch an extraordinary example of ſeverity, upon the authority of that order, under ſuch a change of circumſtances, ſo long after it had been remonſtrated againſt, and after a cartel had been ſettled, to reſtrain improper ſeverities, and to prevent the neceſſity of retaliation. You will ſee by my letter to lord Cornwallis

1781. of the 17th of December laſt, a copy of which is enclosed, that I informed his lordſhip, his order was cruel and unprecedented; and that he might expect retaliation from the friends of the unfortunate.—You obſerve, that to authorize retaliation, there ſhould be a parity of circumſtances, to which I can by no means agree. Retaliation preſuppoſes an act of violence having been committed, and that it is adopted to puniſh the paſt and reſtrain the future; and therefore whatever will produce theſe conſequences is warranted by the laws of retaliation.—You obſerve, that the inhabitants of any country at war, owe allegiance to the conquering power. The right of conqueſt from partial ſucceſſes, is often made uſe of to levy contributions: but I believe there are no inſtances, where the inhabitants are puniſhed capitally, for breach of parole given under theſe circumſtances, eſpecially while the two powers are contending for empire; and this act of ſeverity complained of, is the more extraordinary as you long loſt that part of the country, and upon your own principles the inhabitants owed allegiance to the conquering power.—The execution of lieut. Fulker was without my knowledge or conſent: nor did I ever hear of it before. I underſtood there were ſome, who fell a ſacrifice to the violence of the militia, for the many outrages they had been guilty of, and this without the knowledge of the commanding officer, who put a ſtop to it the moment he diſcovered it. But there is a great difference between deliberate executions, and deaths which happen from an enraged people, urged by a ſenſe of injury and oppreſſion.—I have never authorized or countenanced an execution, but for the crime of deſertion: on the contrary, I have

taken

taken all the pains in my power to ſoften the reſentments 1781.
of the inhabitants toward each other, and to prevent as much as poſſible the dreadful calamity of private murders. It has been my object to reclaim, not to deſtroy, even ſuch of the inhabitants as have been oppoſed to the intereſts of their country; and I cannot but conſider your remarks reſpecting col. Grierſon and major Dunlap, as both illiberal and ungenerous, if you are acquainted with facts. If not, I hope you will be more careful how you cenſure without authority for the future. A handſome reward was offered for the detection of the murderers of both theſe perſons.—As you have referred the juſtification of your conduct in the affair of col. Hayne to lord Cornwallis, and as his determination upon that matter will govern the buſineſs of future exchanges, I can ſee no advantage in appointing a perſon to meet capt. Barry on the ſubject; beſide which, that gentleman is now a priſoner of war, and no longer in a capacity to negotiate affairs of this nature. I am, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant Nathaniel Greene." But before the date of this letter, the following important military operations had taken place.

General Greene, on hearing that the Britiſh were returned to their former ſtation on the ſouth ſide of the Congaree, concerted meaſures for forcing them a ſecond time from their poſts in this quarter. Though the two armies were within fifteen miles of each other on a right line, yet as two rivers intervened, and boats could not be procured, the American army was obliged to take a circuit of 70 miles with a view of more conveniently croſſing the Wateree and the Congaree. Soon after their croſſing theſe rivers, they were joined by general

1781. Pickens with a party of the Ninety Six militia, and by the ſtate troops under lieut. col. Henderſon. Gen. Marion alſo joined them with his brigade of militia, on the Sept. 8. 7th of September. The whole American force being thus collected, Greene proceeded the next morning to attack the Britiſh army under lieut. col. Stewart, who had retired from the Congaree about 40 miles, and taken poſt at the Eutaw ſprings, 60 miles north of Charleſtown. The Americans and Britiſh were nearly equal in number, about 2000: but new raiſed levies and militia formed the greater part of the firſt *. Greene drew up his troops in two lines. The front conſiſted of the militia from North and South Carolina, and was commanded by Marion, Pickens and col. de Malmedy. The ſecond conſiſted of the continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and were led on by gen. Sumner, lieut. col. Campbell, and col. O. Williams. Lee with his legion covered the right flank, and Henderſon with the ſtate troops, the left. Waſhington with his cavalry, and capt. Kirkwood with the Delaware troops, formed a corps de reſerve. They marched at 4 o'clock in the morning, and fell in with two advanced parties of the Britiſh about four miles a-head of their main army: theſe being briſkly charged by the legion and ſtate troops, ſoon retired. The front line advanced and continued firing and advancing on the Britiſh till the action became general, when they in

* On Auguſt the 1ſt, the whole of the continentals did not amount to 800. The field return on the 4th of September, was, total of regulars, rank and file 1256; South Carolina ſtate troops infantry 73, and cavalry 72; total of militia 457, excluſive of Marion's, of which there was no return.

their

their turn were obliged to give way. They were well 1781.
ſupported by gen. Sumner's North Carolina brigade of continentals, though they had been under diſcipline only for a few weeks, and were chiefly compoſed of militia men, who had been transferred to the continental ſervice, to make reparation for their precipitate flight in former actions. In the hotteſt of the engagement, while great execution was doing on both ſides, Williams and Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, were ordered by Greene to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could ſurpaſs the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occaſion. They puſhed on in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a ſhower of muſketry, with ſuch unſhaken reſolution, that they bore down all before them. Lee, with great addreſs and good conduct, turned the left flank of the Britiſh, and attacked them at the ſame time in the rear. Henderſon being wounded early in the action, the South Carolina ſtate troops were led on by lieut. col. Hampton, the next in command, to a very ſpirited and ſucceſsful charge, in which they took upward of 100 priſoners. The Britiſh were routed in all quarters. Waſhington brought up the corps de reſerve on the left, and charged ſo briſkly with his cavalry, and Kirkwood's infantry, as gave the enemy no time to rally or form. They were cloſely purſued. On their retreat, numbers threw themſelves into a ſtrong brick houſe: others took poſt in a picquetted garden and among impenetrable ſhrubs. The eagerneſs of the Americans urged them to attack the enemy in theſe poſitions. Waſhington made every poſſible exertion to diſlodge them from the thickets, but failed, had his horſe ſhot under him, was wounded and

1781. taken priſoner. Four ſix pounders, two of which had been abandoned by the enemy, were ordered up before the houſe, and puſhed on ſo much under the command of the fire from thence and the thickets, that they could not be brought off again, when Greene, judging all further efforts improper, ordered the troops to retire.

The Americans collected all their wounded, except thoſe under the command of the fire of the houſe, and retired to the ground from which they marched in the morning, there being no water nearer, and the troops ready to faint with the heat and want of refreſhment, the action having continued near four hours; and been by far the hotteſt Greene ever ſaw, and the moſt bloody for the numbers engaged. He left a ſtrong picquet on the field of battle.

In the evening of the next day, lieut. col. Stewart deſtroyed a great quantity of his ſtores, abandoned the Eutaw, and moved toward Charleſtown, leaving upward of 70 of his wounded, and 1000 ſtand of arms. He was purſued for ſeveral miles, but without effect. Though major M'Arthur joined him with a large reinforcement fourteen miles below the Eutaw, the action was not renewed. Indeed the loſs of the Britiſh was heavy: 500 were taken priſoners, including the wounded left behind them: they ſcarcely ſuffered leſs in killed, and the wounded whom they carried off. Several of their officers were paroled on the field of battle, 2 were killed, and 16 wounded, as was the commander ſlightly in his left elbow. The Americans had 114 rank and file killed, 300 wounded and 40 miſſing, in all 454: officers killed and mortally wounded 21, beſide a volunteer; wounded 38, and a volunteer; in all 61. Among

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1781. They no more acted with their uſual vigor. On the ſlighteſt appearance of danger, they diſcovered a diſpoſition to flee, not much inferior to what was exhibited the year before by the American militia.

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their uſual ſports, talked ſeriouſly in ſquads, and of 1781.
their pay. All this did not paſs unnoticed by the officers, who watched their conduct, and endeavoured to ſooth them, but ineffectually. On the evening of the 21ſt of October, numbers were ſeen to go privately out Oct.
of camp with their arms, &c. The officers alarmed at 21.
the circumſtance, ordered their corps to parade, and called over their rolls. Old ſoldiers manage dexterouſly among themſelves. They had put ſpies upon their officers while they were making an experiment, and the moment they diſcovered that they were likely to be detected and apprehended for mutiny, they ſtole into camp as ſecretly as they went out: ſome of them were obſerved, but ſuffered to paſs unnoticed. It is not alway beſt to puniſh intended faults before actually committed. A luckleſs incident which happened to a Timothy Griffin of the only South Carolina company then in the army, ſet all this affair right. While the officers were calling their rolls, and admoniſhing ſome of the men for apparent irregularities, Timothy came on the parade drunk; and having heard what the ſoldiers had previouſly whiſpered among one another, and ſuppoſing the officers were altercating with the men on that ſubject, very imprudently cried out—"Stand to it boys. D—n my blood, if I would give an inch"—and other words to the ſame effect. Capt. M'Pherſon of the Maryland line knocked him down, knowing the evil tendency of ſuch language. He was inſtantly ſent to the provoſt; the next day tried by a general court-martial for encouraging mutiny and deſertion; was found guilty; ſentenced to ſuffer death; and ſhot about five o'clock in the afternoon in preſence of the whole army. Ex-

1781. amples are never more neceſſary in an army than upon ſuch dangerous occaſions; and no example was ever more effectual. The general orders of Greene in conſequence of this, repreſented the crime of the ſufferer in ſuch ſtriking colours, as fully to juſtify the ſentence of the court. Greene at the ſame time paſſed over the conduct of the Maryland troops (which was not public) in ſuch a manner as to exonerate them from any participation of the crime. Speaking of unworthy characters he ſaid—"One or two of artful diſpoſitions are ſufficient to betray hundreds of well diſpoſed men into errors. But the general is happy to find, that the Maryland line has nobly withſtood the ſecret machinations of ſuch as have attempted to miſlead them; nor can he believe that ſoldiers who have fought ſo bravely, and whoſe character is univerſally admired, will ever tarniſh their glory by an improper conduct."

The gen. wrote on the 9th of November to gen. Gould—"I ſhould betray my truſt, and fail in my duty, was I to be ſilent upon the barbarous cuſtom which prevails in your army, of burning houſes and deſolating the country. I am informed that a party under col. Brown and major Maxwell lately burnt all the buildings upon Hilton Head. The inſtances of burning which have taken place are no leſs ſavage than unneceſſary, and cannot be juſtified by the general principles of modern war, nor by the particular circumſtances that mark your military operations.—You have endeavoured to perſuade the world, that the body of the people are in your intereſt. The cartel was an appeal to them, and it is from your diſappointment, that the inhabitants feel the cruel ſtrokes of pointed reſentments.—I have made it my ſtudy

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to conduct the war upon the moſt humane principles, 1781.
and it is my wiſh to continue it ſo: but if your people continue in the practice of burning, I will change that plan, and let ſavage cruelty rage in all the horrors of war.—It is painful to contemplate the miſeries incident to giving no quarter; but ſhocking as it may be to humanity, we had better expoſe ourſelves to this evil, where our enemies will feel it in common with us, than to ſuffer them to inflict a puniſhment, little leſs ſevere, from which they are ſecure.—I wiſh you, Sir, to conſider this matter ſeaſonably, and put a ſtop to the evil we complain of, and not drive us to the diſagreeable neceſſity of adopting meaſures, no leſs repugnant to our feelings than our wiſhes."

The American army was too weak needleſsly to riſk another general action; but it was neceſſary to move into the lower country, to cover the collection of proviſions for ſubſiſtence through the winter; and to improve any accidental opportunities. Greene therefore Nov.
quitted the High Hills on the 18th of November. 18.
Three days after, he wrote to gen. Waſhington—"I wiſh ſomething deciſive may be done reſpecting col. Hayne. I wiſh your excellency's order and the order of congreſs thereon; the latter have ſignified their approbation of the meaſures I took. But as retaliation did not take place immediately, (nor did I think myſelf at liberty on a matter of ſuch magnitude, but from the moſt preſſing neceſſity) and as the enemy did not repeat the offence, I have been at a loſs how to act, with reſpect to the original, not having any officer of equal rank with col. Hayne in my poſſeſſion. I am ready to execute whatever may be thought adviſable." On the

27th

1781. Nov. 27th he left col. O. Williams to command the main army, and marched with all the cavalry, 200, and a detachment of 200 infantry, toward Dorchester, through
29. private roads. On the 29th he went to reconnoitre the British works at that place, which induced the enemy's cavalry to sally forth. A rencounter ensued, 8 or 10 men were killed or wounded, and a subaltern and four or five men of the South Carolina state troops were taken prisoners. The general however made such appearances of a serious attack, that the garrison, consisting of about 150 horse, 500 regular infantry, and about 200 royalists, abandoned their works the night following, and retreated to the Quarter-house on Charlestown neck. By this mean all the rice between Edesto and Ashley rivers was saved to the Americans. The manœuvre induced O. Williams to write to Greene on December the 4th— "Your success at Dorchester would make your enemies hate themselves, if all circumstances were generally known; and the same knowledge would make your friends admire the adventure even more than they do.— I am very happy that you have obtained your wish, without risking a general action, and I hope you will be able to keep what you have gotten, till the reinforcement under gen. St. Clair will enable you to take more." The main army continued marching under Williams till
Dec. 7. it arrived at Round O on the 7th, where it encamped, and was joined by Greene two days after.

We shall close the operations in South Carolina with the following narration.

Early in the year Greene concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, by which they engaged to observe a strict neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effects

effects of ſaving the frontier ſettlements of both the Ca- 1781.
rolinas from their incurſions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force againſt the army under lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the leaſt ſervice to the Britiſh forces, they were induced to break their engagement. They, with a number of diſguiſed whitemen, calling themſelves the king's friends, made an incurſion into the diſtrict of Ninety Six, maſſacred ſome families, and burned ſeveral houſes. Gen. Pickens collected a party of the American militia, and penetrated into the ſettlements of the Cherokees. This he accompliſhed in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horſemen. In that ſhort ſpace he burned 13 towns and villages, killed upward of 40 Indians, and took a greater number priſoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions againſt the Cherokees had been ſo rapid and deciſive as the preſent. Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians eſcaped, after having been once ſeen. On this occaſion a new and ſucceſsful mode of fighting the Indians was introduced. Inſtead of firing, the American militia ruſhed forward on horſeback, and charged with drawn ſwords. This was the ſecond time ſince the commencement of the American war, that the Cherokees were chaſtiſed in their own ſettlements, in conſequence of their ſuffering themſelves to be excited by Britiſh emiſſaries to commence hoſtilities againſt their white neighbours. They again ſued for peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, and obtained it after promiſing, that inſtead of liſtening to the advice of the royaliſts inſtigating them to war, they would deliver to the autho-

1781. rity of the ſtate, all who viſited their ſettlements on that errand.

The return of gen. Arnold to New York from Virginia, did not fix him in a ſtate of inactivity. He was ſent on an enterpriſe againſt New London, with a ſufficient land and marine force. The embarkation having paſſed over from Long Iſland ſhore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments on each ſide of the harbour, at ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th of September; that on the Groton ſide being commanded by lieut. col. Eyre, and that on New London ſide by the general, who met with no great trouble. Fort Trumbull and the redoubt, which were intended to cover the harbour and town, not being tenable, were evacuated as he approached, and the few men in them croſſed the river to fort Griſwold on Groton Hill. Arnold proceeded to the town, without being otherwiſe oppoſed than by the ſcattered fire of ſmall parties that had haſtily collected. Orders were ſent by the general to Eyre for attacking fort Griſwold, that ſo the poſſeſſion of it might prevent the eſcape of the American ſhipping. The militia, to the amount of about 157, collected for its defence, but ſo haſtily as not to be fully furniſhed with fire arms and other weapons. As the aſſailants approached, a firing commenced, and the flag ſtaff was ſoon ſhot down, from whence the neighbouring ſpectators inferred, that the place had ſurrendered, till the continuance of the firing convinced them to the contrary. The garriſon defended themſelves with the greateſt reſolution and bravery: Eyre was wounded near the works, and major Montgomery killed immediately after, ſo that the command devolved on major Bromfield. The Britiſh

Sept. 6.

tiſh at one time ſtaggered; but the fort being out of repair, could not be maintained by a handful of men againſt ſo ſuperior a number as that which aſſaulted it. After an action of about 40 minutes, the reſolution of the royal troops carried the place by the point of the bayonet. The Americans had not more than half a dozen killed, before the enemy entered the fort; when a ſevere execution took place though reſiſtance ceaſed. The Britiſh officer inquired on his entering, who commanded; col. Ledyard anſwered—"I did, Sir, but you do now;" and preſented him his ſword. The colonel was immediately run through and killed. The ſlain were 73, the wounded between 30 and 40, and about 40 were carried off priſoners. Soon after reducing the fort, the ſoldiers loaded a waggon with the wounded, as ſaid, by order of their officers, and ſet the waggon off from the top of the hill, which is long and very ſteep: the waggon went a conſiderable diſtance with great force, till it was ſuddenly ſtopped by an apple-tree, which gave the faint and bleeding men ſo terrible a ſhock, that part of them died inſtantly. About fifteen veſſels with effects of the inhabitants retreated up the river, notwithſtanding the reduction of the fort; and four others remained in the harbour unhurt: a number were burnt by the fire's communicating from the ſtores when in flames. Sixty dwelling houſes and 84 ſtores were burned, including thoſe on both ſides the harbour and in New London. The burning of the town was intentional, and not accidental. The loſs that the Americans ſuſtained in this deſtruction was very great; for there were large quantities of naval ſtores, of European goods, of Eaſt and Weſt India commodities, and of proviſions in the 1781.

1781. ſeveral ſtores. The Britiſh had two commiſſioned officers and 46 privates killed; eight officers (ſome of whom are ſince dead) with 135 non-commiſſioned and privates wounded.

We now proceed to the relation of more capital and deciſive operations.

The deſtination of count de Graſſe to a co-operation with the Americans was known by the Britiſh miniſtry time enough for their ſending orders to Sir George Rodney to counteract him. The count in proſecuting the fixed reſolve of the French court to give effectual aſſiſtance to the United States, ſailed with his whole fleet and a large convoy from Martinico on the 5th of July, and arrived at Cape Francois by the middle of the month, where he was reinforced by five ſhips of the line. In the beginning of Auguſt he ſailed from the Cape with a prodigious convoy, which having ſeen out of danger, beſide touching at the Havannah for money, he directed his courſe for the Cheſapeak with 28 ſail of the line and ſeveral frigates. Admiral Rodney, deſigning to return to Great Britain, concluded upon ſending Sir Samuel Hood with only 14 ſail of the line, ſome frigates, and a fire ſhip, to the Cheſapeak; and forwarded diſpatches to New York, to acquaint the Britiſh commanders with de Graſſe's motions and Hood's deſtination, which however were not received in time. Sir Henry Clinton diſcovered by intercepted letters, that Rochambeau had marched with the French troops from Rhode Iſland; that their battering train and ſtores for a ſiege were left at Providence under little more than a militia guard; and that their fleet remained in Rhode Iſland. He upon that planned an expedition againſt them, and propoſed

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it to adm. Graves. Graves however ſailed on a cruiſe 1781.
before Boſton. When he returned on the 16th of Auguſt, the propoſal was renewed: but it was now become neceſſary to refit one of his ſhips, and to repair others, ſo that his fleet could not be ready in ſeaſon. Mr. de Barras ſailed with the train and ſtores from Rhode Iſland Aug.
on the 25th; concluding from de Graſſe's own diſpatches, 25.
that he muſt be then at the Cheſapeak. De Barras was at liberty to have undertaken any other ſervice: but though he was an older officer than de Graſſe, he voluntarily choſe to put himſelf under his command, to enſure an object, the attainment of which was of ſuch immenſe conſequence to the allied arms of France and America. On the day of his ſailing, Sir Samuel Hood arrived off the Cheſapeak, where he expected to have met Graves with the ſquadron from New York; but being diſappointed, he ſent a frigate to that commander with the news of his arrival. Had they formed a junction at this period and place, they might have ſecured the Cheſapeak, and have prevented de Graſſe's entering it a few days after. Sir Samuel having examined the bay, proceeded to the capes of Delaware, and not ſeeing or hearing any thing of de Graſſe, made the beſt of his way to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th. 28.
On that day, the commanders at New York received intelligence, that Barras had ſailed three days before to the ſouthward. Notwithſtanding the hope of intercepting his ſquadron before it could join de Graſſe, muſt have been a new incentive for exertions; it was three 31.
days before Graves could be in readineſs to proceed from New York with five ſhips of the line and a fifty gun to the Hook, and from thence with the whole fleet

1781. under his command to the ſouthward. The day before he ſailed, de Graſſe arrived in the Cheſapeak. On his paſſage the count fell in with and took a packet from Charleſtown, having on board lord Rawdon, who was on his return to Great Britain.

The French admiral after blocking up York river, took poſſeſſion of James's, in order to cover the boats of the fleet, which were to convoy the marquis de St. Simon, with 3300 land forces from the Weſt Indies, eighteen leagues up the river, to form a junction with Fayette. Graves received no intelligence of the French fleet (nor they of his approach) till they were diſcovered
Sept. 5. early in the morning of September the 5th, lying at anchor, to the number of 24 ſail of the line, juſt within Cape Henry, and conſequently the mouth of the Cheſapeak. The French immediately ſlipped their cables, and turning out from the anchorage ground, Graſſe threw out a ſignal for the ſhips ſeverally to form the line as they could come up, without regarding particular ſtations. The Britiſh fleet amounted to nineteen ſhips of the line, and one or more of 50 guns. Through various delays the action did not commence till four o'clock, and then was partial, only the van and a part of the Britiſh centre being able to come near enough to engage with effect. De Graſſe did not aim ſo much at a cloſe engagement, as at keeping poſſeſſion of the Cheſapeak, and ſaving his ſhips for that and all its correſpondent purpoſes. The abſence of 1800 of his ſeamen, and 90 officers, employed in conveying Simons's troops up James river, confirmed him in his avoidance of a hazardous action. Drake with the rear diviſion, in conſequence of the laſt tack, becoming the van of

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the Britiſh fleet, treated the French van ſo roughly, that 1781.
they bore away, while de Graſſe with the centre edged up in order to cover their retreat. The weight of the action fell principally upon the Britiſh van, the centre coming in for a more moderate ſhare, and ſeven ſail never being able to get within a proper gun-ſhot diſtance of the French: from theſe circumſtances Drake's diviſion ſuffered ſeverely. The engagement ended about ſun-ſet. The ſlain on board the Britiſh amounted to 90, and the wounded to 230. The Shrewſbury and Intrepid bore more than a proportionable ſhare of this loſs: Capt. Robinſon of the former loſt a leg, and capt. Molloy of the latter gained great honor, by the gallantry with which he ſuccoured and covered the Shrewſbury, when overborne and ſurrounded by the French. According to the French accounts, no more than 15 ſhips on each ſide were engaged. Admiral Graves uſed all meaſures to keep up the line during the night, with the deſign of renewing the action in the morning. But he diſcovered that ſeveral ſhips of the van, and the Montague of the centre, had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts, that they were in no condition for renewing the action, till the ſame were ſecured. The Terrible was ſo leaky as to keep all her pumps going, and the Ajax was in little better condition. The hoſtile fleets continued for five ſucceſſive days, partly repairing their damages, and partly manœuvring in ſight of each other; and at times were very near. The Britiſh were ſo mutilated, that they had not ſpeed enough to attack the French; and theſe ſhowed no inclination to renew the action, though they had it often in their power, as they generally maintained the wind of Graves. De Graſſe fearing leſt by

1781. Sept. 10. ſome favorable change of it, the Britiſh ſhould get before him to the Cheſapeak, returned thither on the 10th. The Richmond and Iris, of 32 guns each, which had been ſent to cut away the buoys of the French anchors, fell into his hands. His putting to ſea, and continuing there after fighting the Britiſh, was probably the ſaving of de Barras; for during de Graſſe's abſence *, the other arrived in the bay with eight French line of battle ſhips, beſide frigates, tranſports and victuallers, bringing with him the artillery and ſtores indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſiege of York Town. The American officers were in great pain about him, when they heard of Graves's having put to ſea, leſt he ſhould fall in with the latter, be over-powered, and thereby all their hopes of capturing lord Cornwallis be diſappointed. De Barras had taken a wide circuitous courſe to avoid being intercepted; but that very precaution might have proved his ruin, had not de Graſſe left the Cheſapeak on the 5th, and engaged and manœuvred with Graves. In the mean time, a freſh gale and a head ſea ſo increaſed the damage and danger of the Terrible, that it was found neceſſary to evacuate and then burn her. This was done on the 11th, and about nine at night, Graves bore up for the Cheſapeak; but upon information's being brought him, that the French fleet were all anchored within the Cape, ſo as to block the paſſage, it was determined by a council of war, to return to New York, where the fleet arrived the 20th of September.

* See count de Graſſe's letter to the chevalier de Luzerne, Sept. 13, and the Baltimore News-paper of Sept. 18, 1781.

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One great object of the Britiſh force in Virginia was 1781.
the eſtabliſhment of a ſtrong poſt and place of arms, which by embracing ſome good harbour, or commanding one of the great navigable rivers, ſhould equally facilitate future hoſtile operations whether by ſea or land; and which, beſide giving an opportunity for diſtreſſing the country, if the reduction of it could not be effected, ſhould afford ſuch a ſtation for the Britiſh fleets and cruiſers, as would render them entirely maſters of Cheſapeak bay. But the utility of ſuch a poſt was neceſſarily founded on the confidence of a conſtant naval ſuperiority, as well as of its being defenſible by a moderate force on the land ſide. Upon a perſonal examination of Portſmouth, lord Cornwallis diſcovered it to be totally incompetent to the purpoſe of the intended poſt. Point Comfort was thought to be no leſs defective. York Town lying on the river of that name, and on the narroweſt part of the peninſula between York and James rivers, where it is about five miles over; and Glouceſter Point on the north and oppoſite ſide, and projecting ſo far into the river, that the diſtance between both is not much above a mile, afforded the only remaining choice. They entirely commanded the navigation of the river, which is ſo deep at this place, as to admit of ſhips of great ſize and burden: but then they required the whole force that Cornwallis poſſeſſed to render them effective. His lordſhip gave the preference to them; and repaired with his army in Auguſt to the peninſula. He applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to fortify theſe poſts, and to render them equally reſpectable by land and water. His whole force amounted to about 7000 excellent troops. Before his lordſhip had fixed himſelf and army

1781. army in theſe poſts, a ſeries of manœuvres had taken place between him and the marquis de la Fayette; in which the Britiſh general diſplayed the boldneſs of enterpriſe, and the marquis the judgment of age, blended with the ardor of youth. Fayette, under various pretences, ſent the Pennſylvania troops to the ſouth ſide of James river; collected a force in Glouceſter county; and made ſundry excellent arrangements, which he early communicated to de Graſſe by an officer.

The French and American armies continued their march from the northward, till they arrived at the Head of Elk: within an hour after, they received an expreſs from count de Graſſe, with the joyful account of his arrival and ſituation. This circumſtance will appear the more remarkable, when we conſider the original diſtance of the parties, as well from the ſcene of action as from each other, and the various accidents, difficulties and delays, to which they were all liable. The greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between Waſhington and Rochambeau, which leſſened ſome of the difficulties attending their joint operations. The former being without a ſufficiency of money to ſupply his troops, applied to the count for a loan, which was inſtantly granted. In order to haſten the arrival of the allied troops, de Graſſe ſelected ſeven veſſels, drawing the leaſt water, to tranſport them down Cheſapeak Bay. But the moment they were ready to ſail on this ſervice, the count was obliged to prepare for repelling the Britiſh fleet. When Mr. de Barras arrived, he ſent up thoſe tranſports he brought with him for the troops: de Graſſe after that added to them as Sept. 25. many frigates as he could *. By the 25th of September

* Count de Graſſe's letter of September 13, 1781.

all

all the troops were arrived and landed at Williamſburgh, 1781.
and preparations were made with all poſſible diſpatch for putting the army in a ſituation to move down toward York Town. Gen. Waſhington and count de Rochambeau, with their ſuites and other officers, had reached Williamſburgh by hard travelling, on the 14th, eleven days ſooner. Here the general found a veſſel waiting to convey him to the Capes of Virginia, ſent by count de Graſſe, as he could not with propriety leave his fleet. The commander in chief and the count de Rochambeau, accompanied by generals Chaſtellux, Du Portail and Knox, immediately proceeded to viſit the count on board the Ville de Paris. A council was held, and de Graſſe detailed his engagements to be in the Weſt Indies at the latter end of October or beginning of November. But he finally agreed to continue in the Cheſapeak until the operation againſt lord Cornwallis ſhould be decided. After which the company returned.

All the American and French troops formed a junction at Williamſburgh. The marquis de la Fayette had been joined by 3000 under St. Simon ſome days before the 25th. The whole regular force thus collected amounted to between 11 and 12,000 men. The militia of Virginia were alſo called out to ſervice, and were commanded by gov. Nelſon. On the 27th Waſhington gave out in general orders—" If the enemy ſhould be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the *bayonet*, that they may prove the *vanity of the boaſt which the Britiſh make of their peculiar proweſs in deciding battles with that weapon.*" The next morning the army marched, and halted about two miles from

York

1781. York Town juſt before ſun ſet. The officers and ſoldiers were ordered to lie on their arms the whole night.
Sept. 30. On the 30th, col. Scammell (being officer of the day) in approaching the enemy's outer works, to ſee if they had really left them, was mortally wounded and taken priſoner by a party of the enemy's horſe, which lay ſecreted. This day lord Cornwallis was cloſely inveſted in York Town. The French extended from the river above the town to a moraſs in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. The poſt at Glouceſter Point was, at the ſame time, inveſted by the duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a number of Virginia militia under gen. Weedon.

Before the troops left Williamſburgh, Waſhington received a letter from de Graſſe, informing him, that in caſe of the appearance of a Britiſh fleet, the count conceived it to be his duty to go out and meet them at ſea, inſtead of fighting in a confined ſituation. This information exceedingly alarmed the general, who inſtantly ſaw the probability of the Britiſh fleet's manœuvring in ſuch manner, as to reinforce or withdraw lord Cornwallis. To prevent a meaſure pregnant with ſo much evil, his excellency wrote to the count on the 26th—"I am unable to deſcribe the painful anxiety under which I have labored ſince the reception of your letter of the 23d inſtant. It obliges me warmly to urge a perſeverance in the plan agreed upon. The attempt upon York, under the protection of your ſhipping, is as certain of ſucceſs as a ſuperior force and a ſuperiority of meaſures can render any military operation. The capture of the Britiſh army is a matter ſo important in itſelf

itſelf and in its conſequences, that it muſt greatly tend 1781.
to bring an end to the war.—If your excellency quits the Bay, an acceſs is open to relieve York, of which the enemy will inſtantly avail themſelves. The conſequence of this will be, not only the diſgrace, but the probable diſbanding of the whole army; for the preſent ſeat of war being ſuch, as abſolutely precludes the uſe of waggons, from the great number of large rivers which interſect the country, there will be a total want of proviſions. This province has been ſo exhauſted, that ſubſiſtence muſt be drawn from a diſtance, and that can only be done by a ſuperior fleet in the Bay. I earneſtly beg your excellency to conſider, that if by moving your fleet from the ſituation agreed upon, we loſe the preſent opportunity, we ſhall never hereafter have it in our power to ſtrike ſo deciſive a ſtroke, and the period of an honorable peace will be further diſtant than ever.—Suppoſing the force, ſaid to have arrived under adm. Digby, to be true, their whole force united cannot be ſuch as to give them any hope of ſucceſs in the attacking your fleet.—I am to preſs your excellency to perſevere in the ſcheme ſo happily concerted between us. Permit me to add, that the abſence of your fleet from the Bay may fruſtrate our deſign upon the garriſon at York. For, in the preſent ſituation, lord Cornwallis might evacuate the place with the loſs of his artillery, baggage, and a few men—ſacrifices, which would be highly juſtifiable, from the deſire of ſaving the body of the army. The marquis de la Fayette carries this. [redacted] is not to paſs the Cape for fear of accident, in caſe you ſhould be at ſea." This letter, with the marquis's perſuaſions, had the deſired effect; and the ſame hour

when

1781. when the combined army appeared before York Town, the French fleet was brought to the mouth of York river, and by their poſition effectually covered all ſubſequent military operations, and prevented either the retreat or ſuccour of lord Cornwallis's army by water. The poſts of York and Glouceſter were the moſt favorable of any in the country for beſieging the Britiſh, and preventing their eſcape, when the ſiege was ſupported by a ſuperior land and naval force.

Lord Cornwallis was ſufficiently ſtrong for fighting the marquis de la Fayette, even after he had been joined by St. Simon; and is thought to have been miſtaken in not engaging them either ſeparately or together. The moment he heard that the allied troops were at the Head of Elk, and that de Graſſe was arrived with ſo powerful a fleet at the Cheſapeak, his lordſhip ſhould have puſhed off for Charleſtown. Therefore it was that gen. Greene wrote to baron Steuben on the 17th—"Nothing can ſave Cornwallis but a rapid retreat through North Carolina to Charleſtown." His lordſhip's conduct was influenced by an expectation of a reinforcement from Sir Henry Clinton, and a full perſuaſion that thoſe exertions would be made at New York, and ſuch a naval ſtrength would arrive from thence in time, as would effectually relieve him. This may be gathered from his writing on the 16th—"If I had no hopes of relief, I would rather riſk an action than defend my half-finiſhed works. But as you ſay, adm. Digby is hourly expected, and have promiſed exertions to aſſiſt me, I do not think myſelf juſtifiable in putting the fate of the war upon ſo deſperate an attempt." He muſt have meant that of fighting Fayette and St. Simon, for the

the troops of Waſhington and Rochambeau did not 1781.
arrive till afterward. Fayette had taken a ſtrong poſition: but the attempt would not have appeared ſo deſperate to his lordſhip, had he known the real number of the enemy.

The trenches were opened by the combined armies on Oct.
the 6th of October, at 600 yards diſtance from Corn- 6.
wallis's works. The night being dark and rainy was well adapted to the ſervice, in which there was not a man hurt. In the afternoon of the 9th, the redoubts and batteries being completed, a general diſcharge of 24 and 18 pounders and of 10 inch mortars commenced by the Americans on the right, and continued all night without intermiſſion. The next morning, the French opened their batteries on the left, and a tremendous roar of cannon and mortars was continued for 6 or 8 hours without ceaſing. There was an inceſſant fire through the ſucceeding night. By one of the French ſhells, the Charon of 44 guns and a tranſport ſhip were ſet on fire and burnt. The following morning, the enemy's other 11.
guard ſhip was fired by one of the American ſhells and conſumed. At night, the beſiegers opened their ſecond parallel, 200 yards from the works of the beſieged. The Americans had 3 men killed and 1 wounded by a French cannon, which fired too low. On the 14th in the evening, an American battalion was ordered into the ſecond parallel, and to begin a large battery in advance on the right. A few minutes before they began to break ground, the enemy kept a conſtant fire upon them: one of their ſhells burſt in the centre of the battalion, and killed a captain and 1 private, and wounded a ſecond. The fire of the beſieged was very great

1781, through the night; and it was thought that the beſiegers loſt as many men within 24 hours at this period, as they had done nearly the whole ſiege before.

Two redoubts, which were advanced about 200 yards on the left of the Britiſh, greatly impeded the progreſs of the combined armies. An attack on theſe was therefore propoſed.—To excite a ſpirit of emulation the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The light infantry of the latter were commanded by the marquis de la Fayette; and the ſervice was allotted to a ſelect corps. The marquis ſaid to gen. Waſhington—"The troops ſhould retaliate on the Britiſh, for the cruelties they have practiſed." The general anſwered—"You have full command, and may order as you pleaſe." The marquis ordered the party to remember New London, and to retaliate, by putting the men in the redoubt to the ſword after having carried it. The men marched to the aſſault with unloaded arms, at dark on the night of the 14th, paſſed the abbatis and paliſades, and attacking on all ſides carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loſs of 8 killed and 28 wounded *. Lieut. col. Laurens perſonally took the commanding officer. The colonel's humanity and that of the Americans ſo overcame their reſentments, that they ſpared the Britiſh. When bringing them off as priſoners, they ſaid among themſelves —"Why! how is this? We were ordered to put them to death." Being aſked by others why they had not

Oct. 14.

* Major Gibbs, the commander of the men that formed the guards for Waſhington's perſon, received a ſmall contuſion in his leg by a grape ſhot. His manuſcripts of the tranſactions before, at and after the ſiege, are often uſed in this narrative.

done

done it, they anſwered—" We could not, when they 1781.
begged and cried ſo upon their knees for their lives." About five of the enemy were killed, and 1 major, 1 captain, 1 enſign, and 20 privates captured. Col. Hamilton, who conducted the enterpriſe with much addreſs and intrepidity, in his report to the marquis mentioned to the honor of his detachment—" that, incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they ſpared every man that ceaſed to reſiſt." The French were equally ſucceſsful on their ſide. They carried the redoubt committed to them with rapidity, but loſt a conſiderable number of men. Theſe two works being taken into the ſecond parallel facilitated the ſubſequent operations.

The Britiſh were ſo weakened by the fire of the combined armies, but chiefly by ſickneſs, that lord Cornwallis could not venture any conſiderable number in the making of ſallies. The preſent emergency however was ſuch, that a little before day break of the morning of the 16th he ordered a ſortie of about 400 men, under 16.
lieut. col. Abercromby, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greateſt forwardneſs, and to ſpike the guns. Two detachments were appointed to the ſervice; and both attacks were made with ſuch impetuoſity, that the redoubts which covered the batteries, were forced, and eleven pieces of cannon ſpiked. The French troops, who had the guard of that part of the intrenchment, ſuffered conſiderably. This ſucceſsful action did honor to the officers and troops engaged, but produced no eſſential benefit. The cannon, being haſtily ſpiked, were ſoon rendered again ſerviceable; and the combined forces were ſo induſtrious, that they finiſhed

1781. their batteries, opened them about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and fired briſkly. Their ſeveral batteries were now covered with near 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; and the Britiſh works were ſo deſtroyed, that they could ſcarcely ſhow a ſingle gun.

Thus was lord Cornwallis reduced to the neceſſity of preparing for a ſurrender, or of attempting an eſcape. He determined upon the latter. Boats were prepared under different pretexts, for the reception of the troops by ten at night, in order to paſs them over to Glouceſter Point. The arrangements were made with the utmoſt ſecrecy. The intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind to capitulate for the towns people, and for the ſick and wounded, his lordſhip having already prepared a letter on the ſubject, to be delivered to gen. Waſhington after his departure. The firſt embarkation had arrived at Glouceſter Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when the weather, which was before moderate and calm, inſtantly changed to a moſt violent ſtorm of wind and rain. The boats with the remaining troops were all driven down the river, and the deſign of paſſing was not only entirely fruſtrated, but the abſence of the boats rendered it impoſſible to bring back the troops from Glouceſter. Thus weakened and divided, the army was in the moſt imminent danger. The boats however returned; and the troops were brought back without much loſs in the courſe of the forenoon.

Matters were now haſtening to a criſis, which could not be longer averted. The Britiſh works were ſinking under the weight of the American and French artillery. The continuance of the allied fire, only for a few more hours,

hours, would reduce them to ſuch a condition that it would be raſhneſs to attempt their defence. The time for expecting relief from New York was elapſed. The ſtrength and ſpirits of the royal troops were worn down by conſtant watching, and unremitting fatigue. Lord Cornwallis therefore ſent out a flag at ten o'clock in the morning of the 17th, with a letter to gen. Waſhington, requeſting a ceſſation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commiſſioners might be appointed for digeſting the terms of capitulation. An anſwer was given; and a reply forwarded in the afternoon; to which Waſhington rejoined the next day, declaring the general baſis on which the capitulation might take place. Commiſſioners were appointed—on the ſide of the allies viſcount de Noaille, and lieut. col. Laurens, whoſe father was in cloſe confinement at the Tower, while the ſon was drawing up articles by which an Engliſh nobleman and a Britiſh army became priſoners. While ſettling the terms, the viſcount wiſhed his lordſhip to ſtate, upon his honor, the value of the military cheſt. His lordſhip declared it to be about 1800l. ſterling. The viſcount obſerved that the ſum was ſo trifling, that it was not worth bringing into the account, and therefore was for leaving it entirely at Cornwallis's diſpoſal. Laurens interfered, and obſerved to his colleague, that though it was natural for a ſubject of one of the greateſt monarchs in the world to think 1800l. an inconſiderable ſum, yet, for his part, being a ſubject of an infant ſtate, ſtruggling with infinite inconveniencies, and where money was very rare, he muſt deem it a very conſiderable ſum; and therefore he inſiſted that it ſhould be accounted for. This was accordingly done; and afterward it was paid into the

1781. Oct. 17.

1781. hands of Timothy Pickering, eſq; the American quarter maſter general, to the amount of 21131. 6s. ſterling, eſtimating the dollar at 4s. 8d. There being a manifeſt impropriety in the Americans ſtipulating for the return of the negroes, while they themſelves were avowedly fighting for their own liberties, they covered their intention of repoſſeſſing them, under theſe general terms with which the fourth article cloſed—"It is underſtood, that any property obviouſly belonging to the inhabitants of theſe ſtates, in the poſſeſſion of the garriſon, ſhall be ſubject to be reclaimed."

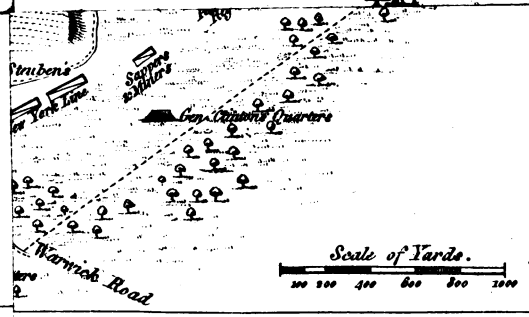
Oct. 19. The poſts of York and Glouceſter were ſurrendered on the 19th. The honor of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied to gen. Lincoln, was now refuſed to lord Cornwallis; and Lincoln was appointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the royal army at York Town, preciſely in the ſame way his own had been conducted about 18 months before. The troops of every kind that ſurrendered priſoners of war, exceeded 7000 men; but ſuch was the number of ſick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The officers and ſoldiers retained their baggage and effects. Fifteen hundred ſeamen partook of the fate of the garriſon. The Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns, and a number of tranſports were ſurrendered to the conquerors: about 20 tranſports had been ſunk or burnt during the ſiege. The land forces became priſoners to congreſs; but the ſeamen and ſhips were aſſigned to the French admiral. The Americans obtained a numerous artillery, 75 braſs ordnance and 69 iron, cannon, howitzers and mortars.

Lord

Plate IX.

To face Page 196. Vol. IV.

YORK TOWN,
and
GLOUCESTER POINT.
as besieged by
The ALLIED ARMY.



American & French Approaches.

. British
1. A Batty Three 18, & Three
2. wo 10 Inch Mortars.
3. nr 18 P.ds
4. 10 Inch Mortars.
5. s & 6 Mort.rs & Howit.
6. ing of Sixteen pieces
7. Howitze.
8. ix 13 In. Mortars.
9. ll, thrown up by
10. rmies.
e Americans.
11. ed by the French.

M. Remainder of the Second Parallel.
N Three French Batteries in the Second Parallel of Sixteen pieces 18 & 24 P.ds
O A French Bomb Batt.y design'd for Ten 13 In.ch Mort.rs In the Redoubt K. the Americans opened with Two 8 In. Howitze. & Two 18 P.ds — & in the Redoubt L with Two 10 Inch Mortars.
P An American Battery of Four 18 Pounders.
Q An American Batt.y design'd for Seven 18. and Three 24 P.ds Four Howitze, Eight 16 In. & Ten 5 & In. Royal Mort.rs the whole of which were not mounted when the Garrison capitulated.
R 2 Fr. Men of War sent to take charge of the Br.h Marine.

B. During Gen.l Choisy, Brigad.r Gen.l Weedon, & the Duke de Lauzun.

T. Conder Sculp.t London.

1781. to the generals, officers and privates, his thanks in the warmeſt language. He with gratitude returned his ſincere acknowledgments to gov. Nelſon of Virginia, for the ſuccours received from him and the militia under him. To ſpread the general joy in all hearts, he commanded that thoſe of the army, who were under arreſt, ſhould be pardoned and ſet at liberty. The orders cloſed with—"Divine ſervice ſhall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and diviſions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do aſſiſt at it with a ſerious deportment, and that ſenſibility of heart which the recollection of the ſurpriſing and particular interpoſition of Providence in our favor claims."

Oct. 24. The Britiſh fleet and army deſtined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Cheſapeak on the 24th; but on receiving authentic accounts of his ſurrender, they returned to New York. A few days after their firſt return, the fleet was increaſed by four ſhips of the line: but ſuch was the ſuperiority of the French by de Barras's junction with de Graſſe, that nothing ſhort of deſperate circumſtances could juſtify attempting a freſh engagement. Theſe circumſtances however exiſting, the Britiſh naval commanders uſed all poſſible expedition in refitting the ſhips, with the deſign of extricating Cornwallis and his army. The delay occaſioned by this buſineſs ſeemed to be compenſated by the arrival of the Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. It was determined that every exertion ſhould be uſed both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with the Britiſh force in Virginia. Sir Henry Clinton embarked with above 7000 of his beſt forces. It was nevertheleſs

Butler. They then croſſed over to him. On his aſking quarter, they anſwered *Cherry Valley quarter* (alluding to his having denied it there when aſked, in November 1778) and diſpatched him though the requeſt was renewed. 1781.

The following acts and concerns of congreſs deſerve to be noticed. On the 30th of October, they elected major general Lincoln ſecretary of war. The next Sunday they attended at the Roman catholic chapel with the chevalier de la Luzerne, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction, and heard Monſ. de Bandole, chaplain to the French embaſſy, deliver the following diſcourſe —"Gentlemen, a numerous people aſſembled to render thanks to the Almighty for his mercies, is one of the moſt affecting objects, and worthy the attention of the Supreme Being. While camps reſound with triumphal actions, while nations rejoice in victory and glory, the moſt honorable office a miniſter of the altars can fill, is to be the organ by which public gratitude is conveyed to the Omnipotent.—Thoſe miracles which he once wrought for his choſen people are renewed in our favor; and it would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge, that the event which lately confounded our enemies and fruſtrated their deſigns, was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties.—And who but He could ſo combine the circumſtances which led to ſucceſs? We have ſeen our enemies puſh forward amid perils almoſt innumerable, amid objects almoſt inſurmountable, to the ſpot which was deſigned to witneſs their diſgrace; yet they eagerly fought it as their theatre of triumph!—Blind as they were, they bore hunger, thirſt and inclement ſkies, poured Nov. 4.

1781. Oct. 31. iſſued by major general the marquis de la Fayette, Oct. 31, 1781. In the moment the major general leaves this place, he wiſhes once more to expreſs his gratitude to the brave corps of light infantry, who for nine months paſt have been the companions of his fortunes. He will never forget, that with them alone of regular troops, he had the good fortune to manœuvre before an army, which after all its reductions, is ſtill ſix times ſuperior to the regular force he had at that time." Four days after, this brigade embarked for the Head of Elk; the invalids of the American troops deſtined for the northward having previouſly done it. The New Jerſey and part of the New York lines marched by land, and were to join the troops which went by water, at the Head of Elk. Such cavalry as were wanted by gen. Greene marched ſeveral days before; and on the 5th of November a reinforcement marched under gen. St. Clair, in order to ſtrengthen him for further offenſive operations in South Carolina. The ſeaſon of the year was unfavorable for the return of the troops to the North river, ſo that they ſuffered much in doing it. But they and their comrades had been bleſſed with a ſeries of the moſt delightful weather from the beginning of their march toward York Town until the reduction of the place.

No ſooner had congreſs received and read gen. Waſhington's letter, giving information of the reduction of the Britiſh army, than they reſolved on the 24th of October, that they would at two o'clock go in proceſſion to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning the allied arms of the United States and France, with ſucceſs by the ſurrender of the whole Britiſh army under the command of earl Cornwallis

Butler. They then croſſed over to him. On his aſking 1782.
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1781. poured out their blood in battle againſt brave republicans, and croſſed immenſe regions to confine themſelves in another Jericho, whoſe walls were fated to fall before another Joſhua. It is He, whoſe voice commands the winds, the ſeas and the ſeaſons, who formed a junction on the ſame day, in the ſame hour, between a formidable fleet from the ſouth, and an army ruſhing from the north, like an impetuous torrent. Who but He, in whoſe hands are the hearts of men, could inſpire the allied troops with the friendſhips, the confidence, the tenderneſs of brothers? How is it that two nations once divided, jealous, inimical, and nurſed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become ſo cordially united as to form but one? Worldlings would ſay, it is the wiſdom, the virtue, and moderation of their chiefs; it is a great national intereſt which has performed this prodigy. They will ſay, that to the ſkill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we muſt attribute this ſplendid ſucceſs. Ah! they are ignorant, that the combining of ſo many fortunate circumſtances, is an emanation from the All-perfect Mind; that courage, that ſkill, that activity, bear the ſacred impreſſion of Him who is divine.—For how many favors have we not to thank Him during the courſe of the preſent year? Your union, which was at firſt ſupported by juſtice alone, has been conſolidated by your courage, and the knot which ties you together is become indiſſoluble, by the acceſſion of all the ſtates, and the unanimous voice of all the confederates. You preſent to the univerſe the noble ſight of a ſociety, which founded in equality and juſtice, ſecure to the individuals who compoſe it, the utmoſt happineſs which can be derived from

from human inſtitutions. This advantage, which ſo 1781.
many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of effort and miſery, is granted by Divine Providence to the United States; and his adorable decrees have marked the preſent moment for the completion of that memorable happy revolution, which has taken place in this extenſive continent. While your councils were thus acquiring new energy, rapid multiplied ſucceſſes have crowned your arms in the ſouthern ſtates.—We have ſeen the unfortunate citizens of theſe ſtates forced from their peaceful abodes;—after a long and cruel captivity, old men, women and children, thrown without mercy into a foreign country. Maſter of their lands and their ſlaves, amid his temporary affluence, a ſuperb victor rejoiced in their diſtreſſes. But Philadelphia has witneſſed their patience and fortitude; they have found here another home, and though driven from their native ſoil, they have bleſſed God that he has delivered them from the preſence of their enemies, and conducted them to a country, where every juſt and feeling man has ſtretched out the helping hand of benevolence. Heaven rewards their virtue. Three large ſtates are at once wreſted from the foe. The rapacious ſoldier has been compelled to take refuge behind his ramparts, and oppreſſion has vaniſhed like thoſe phantoms which are diſſipated by the morning ray.—On this ſolemn occaſion, we might renew our thanks to the God of battles, for the ſucceſs he has granted to the arms of your allies and your friends, by land and by ſea, through the other parts of the globe. But let us not recall thoſe events which too clearly prove how much the hearts of our enemies have been obdurated. Let us proſtrate ourſelves

at

1781. at the altar, and implore the God of mercy to ſuſpend his vengeance, to ſpare them in his wrath, to inſpire them with ſentiments of juſtice and moderation, to terminate their obſtinacy and error, and to ordain that your victories be followed by peace and tranquillity. Let us beſeech him to continue to ſhed on the councils of the king your ally, that ſpirit of wiſdom, of juſtice and of courage, which has rendered his reign ſo glorious. Let us entreat him to maintain in each of the ſtates that intelligence by which the United States are inſpired. Let us return him thanks, that a faction whoſe rebellion he has corrected, now deprived of ſupport, is annihilated. Let us offer him pure hearts, unſoiled by private hatred or public diſſenſion; and let us with one will and one voice, pour forth to the Lord that hymn of praiſe, by which chriſtians celebrate their gratitude and his glory."

The moſt important books and papers of congreſs engaged at length the attention of the enemy. A ſcheme was concerted for carrying them off. Lieut. Moody, who had been ſo ſucceſsful in taking the American mails, was employed. He remained on the Jerſey ſide of the Delaware, while his brother John Moody, and another or two repaired to Philadelphia. Before they could execute the buſineſs intruſted to them, a diſcovery took place; and ſome of them were ſeized. Parties were ſent acroſs the Delaware to ſecure the lieutenant; but he eluded all their exertions, and eſcaped in an extraordinary manner. His brother and a fellow ſoldier were brought before a board of officers, at which the marquis de la Fayette preſided, and were indulged with a candid and full hearing. An opinion of the officers being reported

reported to the board of war, and approved, they were 1781.
ſentenced to die. John Moody was executed on the 13th of November, the other was reſpited. The care of congreſs will be engaged the more by this fruitleſs project, to guard againſt any future attempts of a ſimilar nature.

On the 23d of November they reſolved, "That ma- Nov.
jor gen. the marquis de la Fayette, have permiſſion to 23.
go to France, and that he return at ſuch a time as ſhall be moſt convenient to him:—That he be informed, that on a review of his conduct throughout the paſt campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which preſent themſelves of his zealous attachment to the cauſe he has eſpouſed, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry and addreſs in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by congreſs of his merits and military talents:—That he make known to the officers and troops whom he commanded during that period, that the brave and enterpriſing ſervices with which they ſeconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy far ſuperior in numbers, have been beheld by congreſs with particular ſatisfaction and approbation:—That the ſecretary for foreign affairs acquaint the miniſters plenipotentiary of the United States, that it is the deſire of congreſs that they confer with the marquis de la Fayette, and avail themſelves of his information relative to the ſituation of public affairs in the United States:—That the ſecretary for foreign affairs, further acquaint the miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Verſailles, that he will conform to the intention of congreſs,

by

1781. by conſulting with and employing the aſſiſtance of the marquis de la Fayette, in accelerating the ſupplies which may be afforded by his moſt chriſtian majeſty for the uſe of the United States:—That the ſuperintendant of finance, the ſecretary for foreign affairs, and the board of war, make ſuch communications to the marquis de la Fayette, touching the affairs of their reſpective departments, as will beſt enable him to fulfil the purpoſe of the two reſolutions immediately preceding:—That the ſuperintendant of finance take order for diſcharging the engagement entered into by the marquis de la Fayette with the merchants of Baltimore"—when he borrowed money of them on his own credit, for ſupplying his troops with neceſſaries.

Nov. 28. General Waſhington attended congreſs according to order, and being introduced by two members, the preſident addreſſed him as follows—" Sir, congreſs at all times happy in ſeeing your excellency, feel particular pleaſure in your preſence at this time, after the glorious ſucceſs of the allied arms in Virginia. It is their fixed purpoſe to draw every advantage from it by exhorting the ſtates in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the moſt vigorous and timely exertions. A committee has accordingly been appointed to ſtate the requiſitions neceſſary to be made for the eſtabliſhment of the army, and they are inſtructed to confer with you upon that ſubject. It is therefore the expectation of congreſs, that your excellency would remain for ſome time in Philadelphia, that they may avail themſelves of your aid in this important buſineſs, and that you may enjoy a reſpite from the fatigues of war, as far as is conſiſtent with the ſervice." To which his excellency made the following reply—

"Mr. Preſident, I feel very ſenſibly the favorable de- 1781.
claration of congreſs expreſſed by your excellency. This freſh proof of their approbation cannot fail of making a deep impreſſion upon me, and my ſtudy ſhall be to deſerve a continuance of it. It is with peculiar pleaſure I hear that it is the fixed purpoſe of congreſs to exhort the ſtates to the moſt vigorous and timely exertions: a compliance on their parts will, I perſuade myſelf, be productive of the moſt happy conſequences.—I ſhall yield a ready obedience to the expectation of congreſs, and give every aſſiſtance in my power to their committee. I am obliged by the goodneſs of congreſs in making my perſonal eaſe and convenience a part of their concern. Should the ſervice require my attendance with the army upon the North river or elſewhere, I ſhall repair to whatever place my duty calls, with the ſame pleaſure that I remain in this city." On the laſt day of the year congreſs agreed to *An ordinance to incorporate the ſubſcribers to the bank of North America.*

A few days before, gen. Waſhington wrote—"The whole buſineſs of priſoners of war brought under one regulation, might probably put a ſtop to thoſe mutual complaints of ill treatment which are frequently urged on either part. For it is a fact, that for above two years we have had no reaſon to complain of the treatment of the continental land priſoners in New York, neither have we been charged with any improper conduct toward thoſe in our hands. I conſider the ſufferings of the ſeamen for ſome time paſt as ariſing in a great meaſure from the want of that general regulation, and without which there will be conſtantly a great number remaining in the hands of the enemy.—I know of no method ſo

1781. likely to put an end to the mutual complaints on both ſides, as that of having all priſoners given up to the commiſſary general to be by him exchanged."

In this letter there is an alluſion to an improper conduct toward the Britiſh priſoners in the hands of the Americans, which leads me to mention the caſe of the convention troops. While in Virginia they were often but badly ſerved with meat. The chief of what the American contractor had procured for their ſupply was ſuch as they could not eat. The Britiſh commanding officer at length made his complaint, and obtained leave to have it ſurveyed, when it was condemned in general. The American quarter maſters were, upon that, obliged to go all over Virginia in ſearch of ſalt proviſions, the want of which was ſuch, at one time, that the priſoners had ſix weeks meat due to them. On this an addition of one half more was made to the allowance of Indian meal, and the troops lived upon meal and water. When afterward removed to Frederick-town in Maryland, they complained of meeting with much ill uſage, and of being badly ſupplied with proviſions and almoſt half ſtarved. This treatment made the men deſert in great numbers. Inſtances of improper conduct toward other priſoners undoubtedly exiſted. But the general treatment of them was good; and, wherein it was otherwiſe, fell ſo ſhort of what the Britiſh practiſed toward the Americans, that the former frequently declared of the latter, that notwithſtanding all their threats, they were afraid to retaliate.

The Britiſh power in Georgia being too weak to prevent it, there has been a complete re-eſtabliſhment of American government. The general aſſembly was convened

vened at Auguſta on the 16th of Auguſt. General 1781.
Greene's ſucceſs in South Carolina, having opened the way for gov. Rutledge's ſafe return to that ſtate, he exerciſed his authority afreſh, and on the 27th of September, iſſued a proclamation, offering thoſe inhabitants of the ſtate who had joined the Britiſh, pardon on condition of their doing ſix months militia duty, with the exception of ſuch as had taken commiſſions, ſigned congratulatory addreſſes on Britiſh victories, or who had been otherwiſe active in ſupport of their government. In a few weeks, ſeveral hundreds came out of the Britiſh lines, and greatly reinforced the American militia. Many were now as aſſiduous in framing excuſes for having arranged themſelves under the Britiſh ſtandard, as they had been the year before to apologize for their involuntary ſupport of rebellion. Several caſt themſelves on the public mercy, though excepted by the proclamation. The governor afterward iſſued writs for a new election of repreſentatives, by virtue of the extraordinary power delegated to him before the ſurrender of Charleſtown. The elections were to be held in the uſual places where it was practicable, and in other caſes as near as ſafety and other circumſtances would permit. It was ordered by the ſame authority, that at the election the votes of ſuch only ſhould be received as had never taken Britiſh protection, or who having taken it, had notwithſtanding rejoined their countrymen, on or before the date of the proclamation. Other perſons, though reſidents, were not conſidered as freemen of the ſtate, or entitled to the full privilege of citizenſhip. To counteract the ſeveral meaſures of the governor, general Leſlie iſſued a proclamation on the 15th of December, aſſuring his ma-

1781 jeſty's loyal ſubjects in the province, that they might rely on ſpeedy and effectual ſupport being given to them, by the exertions of the forces under his command; and at the ſame time giving notice, that the ſevereſt puniſhments ſhould be inflicted on all who, having ſolicited for and obtained the enjoyment of the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject, ſhould again take arms againſt his majeſty's government, or ſerve in any civil capacity under a ſecond uſurpation.

Vermont, though not admitted into the confederation, nor acknowledged by the United States, exerciſes all the powers of an independent ſtate—has her legiſlative, judicial and executive branches, and will continue them, without ſubjecting herſelf to the payment of any part of the continental debt till received into the union.

LETTER VII.

Rotterdam, April 30, 1782.

FRIEND G.

THE congreſs of the United States of America, having at length (that they might gain Spain) agreed to recede from their claim to the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, Mr. Jay, agreeable to the requeſt of the
Sept. 22. count de Florida Blanca, delivered in propoſitions relative to an intended treaty, on the 22d of laſt September.

The

The 6th article was thus expreſſed—"The United States ſhall relinquiſh to his catholic majeſty, and in future forbear to uſe, the navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi from the point where it leaves the United States down to the ocean." But it was accompanied with this remark of his among others—"If the acceptance of it ſhould, together with the propoſed alliance, be poſtponed to a general peace, the United States will ceaſe to conſider themſelves bound by any propoſitions or offers, which he may now make in their behalf." The deſign of the Spaniſh court appears to be the drawing of all ſuch conceſſions from the United States, that their preſent diſtreſs and the hopes of aid may extort. Beſide, by protracting negotiations about the treaty, they may intend to avail themſelves of theſe conceſſions at a future day, when the inducements for offering them have ceaſed. They neither refuſe nor promiſe to afford the United States further aids. Delay may be deemed their ſyſtem. The American commiſſioners at the European courts labor under great diſadvantages, as their diſpatches brought by the captains of veſſels are not ſent to them by a truſty officer, and therefore are liable to be opened and ſuppreſſed, as is known to have been done in certain inſtances. Few of the proceedings of congreſs remain long ſecret; and one of their agents has informed them, that he had very good authority for ſaying, that copies of the letters which paſſed between the committee and the late commiſſioners in France, are now in the hands of a certain foreigner. How he got them the agent knows not; but he aſſerts it as a fact. 1781.

1781. The arrival of the Britiſh Weſt India trade was ſo much later than had been expected, that adm. Darby kept the ſea till November. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that neither the allied fleets, nor the Britiſh, took a ſingle prize during the long term they were reſpectively at ſea.

The Spaniards, though they engaged in the expedition againſt Minorca, did not relax in their operations againſt Gibraltar. For the more certain and ſpeedy reduction of the place, they erected ſtupendous works, which were at length arrived at the higheſt ſtate of perfection, after immenſe labor and expence. Gen. Elliot conſidered this as the proper ſeaſon for attempting at once to fruſtrate all their views, by attacking, ſtorming and deſtroying them. The time being fixed and the arrangements made, a ſtrong detachment iſſued from the garriſon upon the ſetting of the moon, at 3 o'clock in the morning. The troops were divided into three columns, and the whole commanded by gen. Roſs. Each column was formed in the following order, viz. an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, a party of artillery men carrying combuſtibles, a ſuſtaining corps, and a reſerve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were ſeamen. Nothing could exceed the ſilence and order of the march, the vigor and ſpirit of the attack, or the exact combination of all the parts. The whole exterior front of the Spaniſh works was every where attacked at the ſame inſtant, and the ardor of the troops was irreſiſtible. The Spaniards gave way on every ſide, and ſoon abandoned their works with the utmoſt precipitation. In half an hour, two mortar batteries of ten 13 inch mortars, and three batteries of heavy cannon, with

Nov. 27.

all

all the lines of approach, communication and traverſe, 1781.
were in flames, and whatever was ſubject to the action of fire was finally reduced to aſhes. The mortars and cannon were ſpiked, and their beds, carriages and platforms deſtroyed. The magazines blew up one after another in the courſe of the conflagration. The whole Spaniſh camp continued ſpectators of the havoc, without an effort to ſave or even avenge their works, unleſs an ill directed and ineffectual fire of round and grape ſhot might be conſidered as either. The whole ſervice was performed, and the detachment returned to the garriſon before day break. Its loſs was too inconſiderable to be mentioned.

On the 27th of November, his Britiſh majeſty went to the houſe of peers and opened the ſeſſion of parliament. The ſpeech expreſſed the king's determined reſolution to perſevere in the defence of his dominions, until ſuch a pacification could be made as might conſiſt with the honor of his crown, and the permanent intereſt and ſecurity of his people. The loſſes in America were neither diſſembled nor palliated; but ſtated as the ground for requiring the firm ſupport of parliament, and a more vigorous, animated and united exertion of the faculties and reſources of the people. The favorable appearance of affairs in the Eaſt Indies was noticed; which was the only ray of ſucceſs with which the ſpeech was illuminated. An account had been received, that on the 1ſt of July, Sir Eyre Coote with his little army came to a general action with Hyder Ally, which laſted eight hours, and was a hard fought day on both ſides. The amazing ſuperiority of the enemy yielded at length to the ſteadineſs, ſpirit and bravery of Sir Eyre's troops.

1781. Hyder Ally retreated precipitately after having had 4000 killed, among whom were many of his principal officers. Sir Eyre loſt but few officers, and about 400 privates killed and wounded.

The motion for an addreſs in the houſe of commons produced a warm and animated debate, which continued till two in the morning. Mr. Fox moved for an amendment, by omitting that part of it which promiſed to ſupport the American war; and propoſed a new one, expreſſing a wiſh for a new ſyſtem of meaſures, which the houſe would aſſiſt to forward. But it was rejected by 218 againſt 129. During the debate, Mr. Burke obſerved, that "The colonel Laurens, who drew up the articles of capitulation, when lord Cornwallis ſurrendered, is the ſon of Mr. Laurens, who has been committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London, of which lord Cornwallis is himſelf the governor; and thus his lordſhip became a priſoner to the ſon of his own priſoner." In the houſe of lords an amendment to the addreſs was propoſed by lord Shelburne in a very maſterly ſpeech, but was rejected by a majority of 75.

Mr. Burke had, in the former ſeſſion, moved for an inquiry into the conduct obſerved on the capture of Statia, which was rejected by a majority of near two to one. He brought on the buſineſs afreſh; and in his Dec. 4. ſpeech on the occaſion mentioned, that three months were ſpent by the Britiſh commanders in diſpoſing of and ſecuring the plunder of the iſland; that Sir George Rodney's fleet amounted to 21 ſail of the line; and that the whole French force, previous to the arrival of count de Graſſe, conſiſted only of 8 ſhips of the line, and one fifty. He ſaid, this favorable opportunity was entirely neglected,

neglected, the whole Britiſh fleet, and near 3,000 choſen troops, being kept upward of two months in a ſtate of total inaction, for the important ſervice of protecting the ſales at Statia. He aſcribed to the ſame diſgraceful cauſe, as a ſecond misfortune, the weakneſs of the detachment ſent under Sir Samuel Hood, to prevent the junction of the French fleet in the Weſt Indies with that which de Graſſe brought from Europe. Sir George declared in reply, that he made the ſeizure of the effects for the ſole and excluſive benefit of the crown; and had no intelligence, till long after the confiſcation, of his majeſty's intentions to relinquiſh his right in favor of the fleet and army; that his preſence at Statia was abſolutely neceſſary for ſome time; that during that period, he had planned two expeditions, one againſt Curaçoa, the other againſt Surinam, and was upon the point of putting them into execution, when he received intelligence of the approach of de Graſſe, whoſe fleet was reported to conſiſt of no more than 12 ſail of the line; and that conſequently he thought Sir Samuel Hood a ſufficient match with fifteen. 1781.

An humble addreſs, remonſtrance and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London was agreed to, and ordered to be preſented to his majeſty ſitting on the throne. The king determining to receive it at the levee, the mode of thus preſenting it was declined. It was however publiſhed. The language and ſentiments of it are peculiarly ſtriking—"It is (they ſay) with inexpreſſible concern, that we have heard your majeſty declare, in your ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, your intention of perſevering in a ſyſtem of meaſures which has proved ſo diſaſtrous to this country. Your majeſty's 6.

1781. majeſty's miniſters have, by falſe aſſertions and fallacious ſuggeſtions, deluded your majeſty and the nation, into the preſent unnatural and unfortunate war. The conſequences of this deluſion have been, that the trade of this country has ſuffered irreparable loſſes: the landed property through the kingdom has been depreciated to the moſt alarming degree: the property of your majeſty's ſubjects, veſted in the public funds, has loſt above one third of its value: private credit has been almoſt wholly annihilated, by the enormous intereſt given in the public loans, ſuperior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract: your majeſty's fleets have loſt their wonted ſuperiority: your armies have been captured: your dominions have been loſt: and your majeſty's faithful ſubjects have been loaded with a burden of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as ſplendid as our defeats have been diſgraceful, if our acceſſion of dominion had been as fortunate as the diſmemberment of the empire has been cruel and diſaſtrous, could not in itſelf be conſidered but as a great and grievous calamity. We beſeech your majeſty no longer to continue in a deluſion, from which the nation has awakened; and that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to relinquiſh entirely, and for ever, the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force. We further humbly implore your majeſty, that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to diſmiſs from your preſence and councils, all the adviſers, both public and ſecret, of the meaſures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your majeſty's fixed determination to abandon a ſyſtem incompatible with the intereſts of your crown, and the happineſs of your people."

On

On the day appointed for voting the army ſupplies, the houſe of commons was early and uncommonly crowded. The oppoſition foreſeeing the difficulties miniſtry would be under, was induced to bring forward certain motions, which might diſcover the number of thoſe in the houſe, who with reſpect to their general political ſentiments, agreed in opinion with them on the proſecution of the war. A coalition from all parties was deſigned, for the ſole purpoſe of obliging the crown to put an end to the attempt of reducing the Americans to obedience by force. Sir James Lowther moved, "that all our efforts to ſubjugate America have been fruitleſs, either for the purpoſe of ſupporting our friends, or conquering our enemies; and that it is the opinion of this houſe, that all future attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, will be ineffectual and injurious to the true intereſts of this country, by weakening her powers to reſiſt her ancient and confederated enemies." Theſe motions were oppoſed by the whole ſtrength of government; which however produced but a ſmall majority, the numbers for them being 179, and againſt them 220. This ſufficiently ſhowed a prevailing change of ſentiment in regard to the American war; and indeed all orders of men began to reprobate it with unreſtrained freedom. 1781. Dec. 12.

Before the adjournment of the houſe for the holidays, Mr. Burke brought up *a repreſentation and prayer*, addreſſed to the houſe of commons by Mr. Laurens himſelf, which was laid on the table. It was written by the petitioner with a black-lead pencil; he having, as is thought, refuſed to accept of ſome indulgences lately offered him, and among the reſt that of pen and ink, the

1781. the uſe of which had been ſtrictly forbidden him, during the greateſt part of his confinement. The houſe was alſo informed by Mr. Burke, that congreſs had offered to exchange gen. Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens; and many reaſons were urged by him for its taking place. Mr. Laurens was at length brought before lord Mansfield on the laſt day of the year, in conſequence of an order from the ſecretary of ſtate, and was diſcharged upon certain conditions. He then repaired to Bath for the recovery of his health, which had been much impaired by his confinement and the hardſhips with which it was accompanied.

Before the 12th of January, miniſtry received an account of Statia's having been ſurpriſed and taken by the French. The marquis de Bouille being made acquainted with the ſecurity and negligence of the governor and garriſon, attempted the reduction of the iſland. He embarked about 2000 men in a number of ſmall veſſels at Martinico; and knowing that the only practicable landing place was left unguarded, he took his meaſures ſo as to arrive before it early in the night. An unexpected riſe of the ſea cauſed the loſs of ſeveral boats and many ſoldiers, while endeavouring to diſembark. With his utmoſt efforts he could only land about 400 by day-break: there was no hope of reinforcing them with the remainder of the troops, the greater part of the boats having been broken. He ſaw the danger of his ſituation, that a retreat was impoſſible; that the garriſon was nearly double his own number; and that nothing but the ſucceſs of a bold adventure, could poſſibly ſave him and his troops from being either made priſoners or cut to pieces. He determined upon a vigorous attack.

The

The place where he landed was about two leagues from 1781.
the town and fort: the way to theſe was not only extremely difficult, but interſected by a defile in which a handful of men could have ſtopped an army. The troops that had been landed, were compoſed principally of count Dillon's regiment, a part of the Iriſh brigade in the French ſervice. A diviſion of the garriſon was going through its exerciſe in a field at ſome diſtance from the fort. It miſtook the enemy, as their red uniform was the ſame with the Engliſh; and did not retreat till it had received a cloſe diſcharge of ſmall arms, which killed and wounded ſeveral. Upon the alarm occaſioned by the volley, thoſe of the garriſon who were in quarters hurried to the fort, and clogged the drawbridge in ſuch a manner, that it could not be raiſed, until the enemy entered pell mell along with them. Lieut. col. Cockburne, the governor, who had been taking an early ride, returned at the inſtant of ſurpriſe, and was made priſoner on horſeback. He was "guilty of culpable neglect, in not taking the neceſſary precautions for the defence of the iſland, notwithſtanding he had received the fulleſt intelligence of an intended attack *." Thus was Statia, with the dependent iſlands of St. Martin and Saba, reduced in a few minutes on the 26th of Nov.
November, with the loſs to the French of no more than 26.
ten ſoldiers killed and wounded. The Britiſh garriſon conſiſted of 677 men; and the artillery of 68 pieces of cannon.

The marquis de Bouille behaved with his uſual magnanimity, and admitted the claims of the original proprietors to various articles on the iſland. A conſider-

* The ſentence of the court martial.

able

1781. able ſum of money which lieut. col. Cockburne declared to be his, was with the generous conſent of the French officers reſtored to him. But a very large ſum, the remainder of the produce of the late ſales, and ſaid to be the property of adm. Rodney and gen. Vaughan, became a prize to the victors. Their whole ſpoil has been eſtimated at two millions of livres.

When count de Guichen returned from his cruiſe, the utmoſt expedition was uſed at Breſt in refitting the French fleet for the ſea, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the ſeaſon. The reinforcing of count de Graſſe in the Weſt Indies with troops and ſhips of war, was indiſpenſably requiſite; and it was foreſeen, that he would want on that ſtation almoſt every article of proviſions and neceſſary of life, beſide an immenſe ſupply of military and naval ſtores of every kind, after the ſervice on the North American coaſts. The French concluded alſo upon ſending a reinforcement of troops and ſhips to Monſ. de Suffrein in the Eaſt Indies, where the demand for naval and military ſtores was alſo urgent. A numerous convoy of tranſports, ſtore ſhips and proviſion veſſels, were accordingly gotten in readineſs with the ſame diligence as the fleet. It was needful to guard againſt the deſigns of the Britiſh, the preparation was therefore extended to ſuch a number of men of war, as was thought equal to the protection of the whole, till they were at a ſafe diſtance. Count de Guichen was appointed to the command of all, while he remained in company with them. The ſquadron and fleet deſtined for the Weſt Indies, was intruſted with the marquis de Vaudreuil, who carried out a conſiderable body of land forces, with a full confidence, on the ſide of both France

and Spain, of now perfecting their plan for the reduc- 1781.
tion of Jamaica.

The intelligence of this preparation, and in a meaſure of its object, being received in Britain, adm. Kempenfelt was diſpatched in the beginning of December, with 12 ſail of the line, a 50 gun ſhip, four frigates, and a fireſhip, to intercept the French ſquadron and convoy. But for want of better information or from ſome other cauſe, the French fleet was ſo much ſuperior to what had been conceived, and to Kempenfelt's force, that the real danger lay on the ſide of the latter. Count de Guichen had no leſs than 19 ſail of heavy line of battle ſhips, beſide two more armed *en flute*, as the French call it, when the lower deck guns are placed in the hold to make room for the conveyance of a moderate cargo.

The Britiſh admiral, expecting that his enemy had only an equal force at the moſt, fortunately fell in with Dec.
the French in a hard gale of wind, when both the fleet 12.
and convoy were much diſperſed, and the latter conſiderably aſtern. Kempenfelt concluded upon profiting from the preſent ſituation, by endeavouring to cut off the convoy in the firſt inſtance, and fighting the enemy afterward. He ſucceeded in part. A great number of prizes were taken. About twenty arrived ſafe in Britiſh ports; while ſeveral that ſtruck eſcaped in the night. Two or three ſhips are ſaid to have been ſunk. A number muſt undoubtedly have loſt their voyage, through the great diſperſion of the convoy which neceſſarily exiſted. The French commanders were in the mean time collecting their fleet, and forming the line of battle. Kempenfelt alſo having collected his ſhips in the even-

ing,

1781. ing, and being ſtill ignorant of the enemy's force, got upon the ſame tack with them, under a full determination of engaging them the next morning. At day light perceiving them to leeward, he formed the line; but diſcovering their force on a nearer approach, he did not think it adviſable to hazard an action. He arrived at Portſmouth on the 20th of December: but had taken the precaution of diſpatching the Agamemnon to pick up any ſtragglers from the Breſt fleet. The Agamemnon fortunately fell in with four large ſhips and a ſnow from Bourdeaux to Martinico, meant to join de Guichen, and captured them on the 25th.

Near 1100 land forces, and between 6 and 700 ſeamen, were taken in the prizes captured by the admiral, which were moſtly freighted on the French king's account. They were laden chiefly with braſs and iron ordnance, gunpowder, ſmall arms, flints, bomb-ſhells, cannon balls, grenades in a prodigious quantity, iron bars, ſheet lead, travelling forges, all kinds of ordnance ſtores, tents, camp equipage, ſoldiers clothing and accoutrements, woollen and linen goods for the land and ſea ſervice, great cables, ſail-cloth and cordage, with every ſupply for ſhipping in a great amount, wine, oil, brandy, rum, flour, biſcuit and ſalted proviſions, all in large and the moſt neceſſary in prodigious quantities.

The capture was valuable and important; but ſerved to excite the diſſatisfaction of the public, who ſuppoſed that it was through neglect, that Kempenfelt had not been ſupplied with a force which would have enabled him to take or deſtroy the whole French fleet and convoy. A great clamor was raiſed; which was probably increaſed by the attempts made in both houſes of parliament,

liament, after the Chriſtmas receſs, to render this buſi- 1782.
neſs a ground of complaint and charge againſt the firſt lord of the admiralty. Mr. Fox moved, on the 7th of Feb. 7.
February, the following reſolution in the committee, "That it appears to this committee, that there was groſs miſmanagement in the adminiſtration of naval affairs in the year 1781." He ſaid in his ſpeech upon the occaſion—"It appears from the papers on the table, that for ſeveral weeks before the ſailing of the French fleet, the admiralty had been in the courſe of receiving regular intelligence of its equipment; and that it was evident, that 18 or 20 ſail of the line were in readineſs to put to ſea." Lord Howe on the ſame day declared it to be his opinion, that the early intelligence miniſtry had received of the deſigns of the enemy, left them without excuſe, for not having prepared a force ſufficient to attack them. He aſked—"Why was not Sir George Rodney ſent out with adm. Kempenfelt? His ſquadron is allowed to have been fit for ſervice." Mr. Fox's motion was rejected by a very great majority, after long and warm debates. What Kempenfelt could not effect for want of more ſhips, was in a great degree accompliſhed in another way. Count de Guichen's fleet and convoy, after Kempenfelt's ſucceſsful attack on the latter, were ſo ſhattered and diſabled, by a continual ſucceſſion of tempeſts and foul weather, that only two of the men of war and a few of the convoy, could hold on their courſe to join de Graſſe. The remainder were obliged to return in very bad condition to France. Since then, a ſecond convoy from Breſt ſailed on the 11th of February, in order to ſupply the failure of the other.

1782. The eagerneſs of the Spaniards to gain poſſeſſion of Minorca after landing on the iſland, was ſo exceſſive, as to induce them, through the medium of a bribe, inſidiouſly to attempt corrupting the fidelity of the governor. The duke de Crillon ſuffered himſelf to become the inſtrument in this buſineſs. General Murray treated the inſult with a ſuitable diſdain. The cloſe inveſtiture of Fort St. Philip, from the time of the enemy's landing, wholly prevented the garriſon's being ſupplied with vegetables. The want of theſe, deſtroyed in a great meaſure, the benefits which might have been otherwiſe expected from the general plenty enjoyed in other reſpects. The ſcurvy raged among the troops to a high degree, and was attended by a putrid peſtilential fever and a mortal dyſentery. Much the greater part of the Britiſh ſoldiers had been eleven years on the iſland, and had lived conſtantly upon ſalt proviſions, ſo that the want of vegetables was the more ſenſibly felt, when they came to be deprived of them. The progreſs of the diſtemper was alſo much furthered by the cloſe confinement of the men within the narrow limits of the fortreſs; and ſtill more ſo by the tainted air of the caſemates and ſouterrains, which the cannonade and bombardment of the enemy rendered their only habitations, and which became every day more pernicious by occupancy.

The combined forces amounted to 16,000 regulars, attended by a prodigious artillery, conſiſting of 109 pieces of the heavieſt cannon, and 36 great mortars. The garriſon conſiſted only of 2692 men; of theſe 2016 were Britiſh and Hanoverian regular troops, including however in this number, 400 invalids, who had been ſent from Britain in 1775. A marine corps, which had been formed

formed upon the preſent occaſion, and was of excellent ſervice, compoſed the greater part of the remainder. A handful of Greeks and Corſicans alſo behaved with much bravery. The works of the fortreſs were ſo numerous, that the garriſon, in full health, did not amount to half the number which would have been neceſſary to their effectual defence. This weakneſs probably led the duke de Crillon to lie ſomewhat unguardedly in his head quarters at Cape Mola, which induced a vigorous and ſucceſsful ſally from the garriſon. The troops employed in it ſurpriſed and routed the enemy; chaſed the duke from his poſt, and ſecured themſelves ſo effectually in it, that though he brought up his whole army to diſlodge them, he deſiſted from the attack; and left them to return the following night in ſafety. This happened early in November, about the time when the enemy opened their bomb batteries. Though the beſiegers kept a cautious diſtance in the conſtruction and progreſs of their works; yet their vaſt and numerous artillery were ſo weighty, powerful and inceſſant in their battery, and ſuch ſhowers of great ſhells were continually poured into the place, that they ſoon ruined the upper defences of the fortreſs, and rendered uſeleſs a great number of cannon. 1782.

The garriſon diſplayed the greateſt zeal, valor and conſtancy; but in the beginning of February was ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, that only 660 were left fit for duty: of theſe, all but one hundred were ſo far tainted with the ſcurvy, that the phyſicians and ſurgeons declared, that they could hold out only a very few days, before they muſt be ſent to the hoſpital. They alſo ſaid, that a few days longer obſtinacy in defence muſt

1782. prove the deſtruction of the remains of that brave garriſon, as there were no means of keeping the greater part of them much longer alive, but by a ſpeedy relief of wholeſome air, aided by an abundant ſupply of vegetables. The neceſſary guards on the laſt night of defence, required 415 men upon duty, ſo that there were only 245 left, 170 leſs than the neceſſary number for the next relief, and no picquet could be at all formed.

Feb. 5. Under theſe circumſtances, the governor was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. He obtained all the honors of war, and every thing he required, excepting that of freeing the garriſon from being priſoners, which the duke de Crillon aſſured him, the Spaniſh king in his inſtructions had particularly tied him down from granting; but the troops were to be ſent to Britain, ſubject to the cuſtomary conditions of not ſerving till exchanged, or diſcharged by a peace. The Corſicans and other foreigners were ſecured in their perſons and effects, and in the liberty of going where they pleaſed.

The poor remains of the garriſon, while marching through the Spaniſh and French armies, which were drawn up in oppoſite lines for their paſſage, exhibited ſuch a tragical ſpectacle as is not often ſeen, though it was at the ſame time much to the glory of the ſufferers. Six hundred old, emaciated, worn-down and decrepid ſoldiers, were followed by 120 of the royal artillery, and 200 ſeamen: about 20 Corſicans, and 25 Greeks and Turks, Moors and Jews, &c. cloſed the proceſſion. When the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms, the ſoldiers exclaimed with tears in their eyes—"We ſurrender them to God alone." They ſeemingly derived great conſolation from the opinion

nion that the victors could not boaſt of their conqueſt 1782.
in taking an hoſpital. The indignation and grief expreſſed by the Britiſh troops on their being at length vanquiſhed, was mentioned in terms of admiration, and of the higheſt honor to the garriſon, in the Spaniſh publiſhed accounts of this tranſaction. During the ſiege from the 19th of Auguſt 1781, to the 4th of February incluſive, the total of the killed was 59, and of the wounded 149.

The ſympathy diſcovered by the enemy upon the occaſion, was highly to their honor. Several of the common ſoldiers of both armies were ſo moved by the wretched condition of the garriſon, that involuntary tears dropped from them as the priſoners paſſed along. The ſubſequent tenderneſs ſhown by the duke de Crillon, the count of the ſame name and family, and the baron de Falkinhayn, who commanded the French troops, in their continued ſupply of all neceſſaries to the ſick, and their unremitted attention to their recovery, was beyond all praiſe.

The members in the Britiſh houſe of commons oppoſed to the adminiſtration, aimed at binding up the hands of the executive government by a ſtrong and explicit declaration of the opinion of parliament. Gen. Conway therefore moved—"That an humble addreſs 22.
be preſented to his majeſty, that he will be pleaſed to give directions to his miniſters not to purſue any longer the impracticable object of reducing his majeſty's revolted colonies, by force, to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America, and to aſſure his majeſty, that his faithful commons will moſt cheerfully concur with him in ſuch meaſures as may be found neceſſary to

1782. accelerate the bleſſing of returning peace." The debates were warm, and held till two in the morning; when upon the diviſion the numbers for the motion were 193, and againſt it 194. The majority of one only on the ſide of miniſtry, proved that their influence was nearly at an end. Five days after Conway renewed his motion. The debates it occaſioned continued till near two in the morning, when the attorney general moved —"That the preſent debate be adjourned until the 13th of March." There were for the adjournment 215 againſt 234. The original motion, and an addreſs to the king formed upon the reſolution, were then carried without a diviſion, and the addreſs was ordered to be preſented by the whole houſe. The next day, the attorney general moved to bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies in America, which was agreed to. The bill had for its object the repeal of all acts relative to the commerce of America, from the 12th of Charles II. The ſame day the ſecretaries of ſtate ſent a letter to the lord mayor of London, informing him of the apprehenſion which exiſted of riots and tumults in the evening; that ſo proper meaſures might be taken for ſecuring the public peace. It was feared, that the great and general joy occaſioned by the carrying of Conway's motion would
Mar. 4. have produced thoſe riots. On the 4th of March, his majeſty's anſwer was reported to the houſe, and the thanks of the houſe unanimouſly voted to the king for the ſame. After which Conway roſe and moved another reſolution—"That this houſe will conſider as enemies to his majeſty and this country, all thoſe who ſhall endeavour to fruſtrate his majeſty's paternal care for the

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tainment of the ſame—2. A ſubſtantial reform in the ſe- 1782.
veral branches of the civil liſt expenditure, on the plan of Mr. Burke—3. The diminution of the influence of the crown, under which article the bills for excluding contractors from ſeats in parliament, and diſqualifying the revenue officers from voting in the election of members were included.

The revolution that has taken place in the Britiſh adminiſtration, is chiefly owing to the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army; and muſt diffuſe a general joy through the United States of America, whenever the account reaches them; by exciting their hopes of ſoon poſſeſſing the great object for which they have been contending. But the diſagreeable intelligence received at the admiralty office from the Weſt Indies on the 12th and 26th of March, did undoubtedly promote and confirm the ſaid revolution.

The ſuperiority of the French by ſea and land in that part of the world, enabled them to undertake what they pleaſed. The loſs of Statia was but the prelude to further misfortunes on the ſide of Britain. St. Kitt's was doomed to become a victim to the policy and power of France. The marquis de Bouille landed 8000 men on Jan.
the iſland, and was ſupported by count de Graſſe, with 11.
32 ſhips of the line. The garriſon under gen. Fraſer did not exceed 600 effective men: ſo that the great ſuperiority of the enemy prevented all reſiſtance to their landing. The garriſon retired to Brimſtone-hill, which, beſide ſome newly erected fortifications, was conſidered from its height and almoſt inacceſſible ſituation, as one of the ſtrongeſt poſts in the Weſt India iſlands. But the troops were too few for its defence through a long ſiege.

The

1782. The Britiſh fleet under Sir Samuel Hood, conſiſting of 22 ſhips of the line, was then at Barbadoes. That iſland was the original object of the French commanders; but they were driven ſo far to the leeward by contrary winds, that they found it neceſſary to change their deſign, and direct their attack againſt St. Kitt's. Sir Samuel notwithſtanding his inferiority, determined upon boldly attempting the preſervation of the iſland. He accordingly ſailed to Antigua, where he took gen. Preſcott on board, with the few troops that could be ſpared; and from thence proceeding in the evening for Baſſe-Terre road, where de Graſſe lay at anchor, began at day break to form his line of battle, for the purpoſe of bearing down upon and attacking them. The accident of two ſhips running foul of each other, interrupted the proſecution of this deſign; and the fleet was obliged to lie to for a day, during the repair of the damage which one of them had ſuſtained. A French frigate from Martinico, full of ſhells and ordnance ſtores, for the ſiege of Brimſtone-hill, which fell into the hands of the Britiſh, ſeemed to compenſate in ſome meaſure for this delay. De Graſſe, who could not but be ſurpriſed at this unlooked for viſit, quitted his anchorage, that ſo by putting out to ſea and gaining a good offing, his ſhips might have full room to act, and thereby ſecure all the advantages of their ſuperiority in number.

Jan. 25. Sir Samuel inſtantly perceived how he might profit by this movement. The enemy formed in a line of battle a-head. He carried on every appearance of a determined and immediate attack, whereby he drew them further from the ſhore. He then puſhed directly for Baſſe-Terre road, and took poſſeſſion of that anchorage ground,

ground, which the count had quitted on the preceding 1782.
evening. A ſenſe of the poſſible conſequence of this movement, in cutting the French fleet off from all communication with their army on ſhore, led them to fall upon commodore Affleck with the utmoſt fury. He commanded and cloſed the rear of the Britiſh ſquadron, and they were in no ſmall hope of cutting off that diviſion. The commodore with his two brave ſeconds, lord Robert Manners and capt. Cornwallis, kept up ſo able and unceaſing a fire, that with little loſs and damage to themſelves, they contributed much to the covering of the other ſhips of the diviſion, while they were getting into their ſtations. After a ſharp conflict, the French were obliged to bear away.

The next morning by eight o'clock, the Britiſh line 26.
was attacked from van to rear, by 29 ſail of the enemy, for nearly two hours, without having the leaſt viſible impreſſion made upon it. The French then wore and ſtood off again to ſea. De Graſſe not yet diſcouraged, renewed the engagement in the afternoon, and directed his attack principally againſt the centre and rear diviſions. Theſe he hoped to overwhelm by the ſuperiority of his force: but he was again repulſed with greater loſs and damage than before. His own ſhip, the Ville de Paris, ſuffered ſeverely, and received no leſs than 84 ſhot in her hull. It was ſaid, that the French ſent a thouſand wounded to Statia. The loſs of the Britiſh in all the attacks is ſtated at 72 killed and 244 wounded. From that time the count kept at a diſtance, but continued conſtantly in ſight, appearing one day with 32 two-decked ſhips, and another with only 29.

The

1782. The ſucceſs of Sir Samuel Hood's bold adventure produced very flattering proſpects. The admiral had no doubt, but that Brimſtone hill would hold out, till the marquis de Bouille and count de Graſſe would be glad to retire. But therein he was miſtaken. The inhabitants of the iſland, on the firſt arrival of the French, adopted a ſeeming neutrality. Governor Shirley indeed proceeded with 350 militia to reinforce gen. Fraſer's ſmall garriſon, and continued bravely to encounter all the dangers, and patiently to endure all the hardſhips of the ſiege. The French cloſely inveſted the hill on all ſides, on the night of their landing and the following morning. The artillery deſtined to ſerve in the attack on Barbadoes was attempted to be diſembarked. But the veſſel which conveyed the moſt heavy and effective part of it, ſtruck on the rocks and ſunk. The enemy however were not diſcouraged by this loſs, or the ſubſequent one of the frigate from Martinico. By perſevering induſtry they fiſhed up no ſmall part of the artillery, ſhells and ſtores which had been ſunk; and the men of war brought a freſh quantity of heavy ordnance from Martinico. Moreover, the very means provided for the defence of the garriſon, were unhappily for them employed in their deſtruction. Eight braſs 24 pounders, with 6000 balls, together with two 13 inch braſs mortars and 1500 ſhells, which had been ſent out by government to furniſh the fortreſs, inſtead of having been removed up to the works, were all found by the French at the foot of the hill, and proved a moſt ſeaſonable and neceſſary ſupply. The hill was naturally ſtrong, but the works at the top were not anſwerable to its ſtrength; and were little calculated to withſtand the batteries,

which

which the poſſeſſion of the adjoining country, and the weakneſs of the garriſon enabled the enemy to erect in the moſt advantageous poſitions. The Britiſh were moreover totally deſtitute of intrenching tools. 1782.

The marquis de Bouille commenced and carried on a regular ſiege; but was incommoded during the whole of it, by a moſt vigorous fire from the garriſon. The toil and fatigue of the French was exceſſive in ſuch a climate, as they had no ſubſtitute for human labor in removing their artillery and heavy ſtores. The trenches however were opened in the night between the 16th and 17th of January. Sir Samuel Hood took the earlieſt opportunity, on his arrival off the iſland, of ſending an officer to Brimſtone-hill, accompanied by one from gen. Preſcott, who in anſwer to the offer ſent to gen. Fraſer, brought back the following meſſage—"That as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his aſſiſtance, he ſhould doubtleſs be glad of the honor of ſeeing him; but that he was in no want either of him or his troops." Preſcott being very deſirous notwithſtanding, to be put on ſhore with his Antigua troops, they were accordingly landed on the 28th, together with the 69th regiment, and immediately got into action, and drove the enemy with conſiderable loſs to the latter; but as no ſolid purpoſe could be anſwered by the continuance of the troops on ſhore, they were taken off in the evening of the 29th, without the loſs of a man. All communication being now cut off with Brimſtone-hill, the general with his troops ſailed back for Antigua on the 1ſt of February. Jan. 28. Feb. 1.

The French proſecuted their works and attack with unremitting induſtry. During the laſt three weeks of the ſiege, they were conſtantly, night and day, cannonading

1782. nading and bombarding the garriſon; who though continually thinned by the numbers killed and wounded, bore the inceſſant fatigue of being alway under arms, and the increaſing danger, with admirable patience and fortitude. At length, the works on one ſide being ſo deſtroyed as to form an entire and complete breach, and there being not more than 500 men left able to go through duty, and Sir Samuel Hood not having it in his power to afford the leaſt relief, both the governor Feb. and gen. Fraſer concluded upon propoſing a capitula- 12. tion; which the marquis de Bouille eagerly embraced, as the acquiſition of time for further operations was important, and as ſecurity from interruption by the arrival of a Britiſh admiral to reinforce Sir Samuel was of the firſt conſequence. Every condition they propoſed was agreed to, whether in favor of the garriſon or iſland. The former were allowed all the honors of war in the fulleſt ſenſe; and the iſland was upon the beſt footing it could be, under a capitulation. The marquis de Bouille, with his uſual elevation of ſoul, by the laſt article diſcharged gov. Shirley and gen. Fraſer from being conſidered as priſoners of war, out of reſpect to their courage and determined conduct; and declared that the firſt might return to his government of Antigua, and the latter continue in the ſervice of his country.

The ſurrender of Brimſtone-hill, and the capitulation of the iſland, rendered the longer ſtay of Sir Samuel Hood in Baſſe-Terre road equally uſeleſs and dangerous. Beſide, the French had been joined by two ſhips of the line from Europe; ſo that count de Graſſe poſſeſſed the ſuperiority of 34 to 22 ſhips of the line. The count 14. anchored off Nevis on the 14th, the day on which that iſland

iſland followed the fate of St. Kitt's and ſurrendered. 1782.
Sir Samuel left Baſſe-Terre road the ſame night, unperceived as he imagined, for not one of the French ſhips was to be ſeen in the morning; though when his fleet ſlipped their cables, the other lay within five miles and with their lights full in view. The ſurrender of Montſerrat on the 22d, neceſſarily ſucceeded the loſs of the two before-mentioned; ſo that of all the former numerous Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, there remain only Jamaica, Barbadoes and Antigua. Notwithſtanding the reduction of Brimſtone-hill might coſt the French 1000 ſoldiers, and count de Graſſe might loſe full 1000 ſailors by engaging the Britiſh fleet, their remaining ſtrength was ſo great, that the deſign againſt Jamaica muſt have been revived, eſpecially as the Spaniards had a powerful fleet, and a great body of land forces, in the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Cuba, ready to join de Graſſe in an attack upon it.

After mentioning en paſſant, that the marquis de la Fayette and viſcount de Noaille arrived at Paris on the 20th of January from America, and that commodore Johnſtone returned to Portſmouth from the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 28th of February; I ſhall relate what has paſſed in the United Provinces of Holland, and in the dominions of the emperor of Germany.

You will recollect the circumſtance of Mr. John Adams's preſenting a memorial to the States General in April 1781. The French miniſter would have hindered his preſenting it, but could not prevail. Mr. Adams was determined at all hazards to follow his own judgment; which he did in the moſt independent manner,

in

Mr. Adams, on Thurſday, March the 28th.—Zealand 1782.
the ſame on the 4th of April:—Overyſſel on the 5th:
—Groningen on the 9th:—Utrecht on the 10th:—and
Guilderland on the 17th of April. On Friday the 19th,
it was reſolved by the deputies of the States General,
that Mr. Adams be admitted and acknowledged. The
next day he waited on Mr. Boreel who preſided that
week, and preſented to him a letter from congreſs, dated
Jan. 1, 1781, containing a credence. On Monday the April
22d it was reſolved, "That the ſaid Mr. Adams is 22.
agreeable to their high mightineſſes; that he ſhall be acknowledged
in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary; and
that there ſhall be granted to him an audience, or aſſigned
commiſſioners, when he ſhall demand it."

"Do not you think that the Dutchmen have behaved bravely at laſt? It is a great deal for them, after ſo long a neglect of all enterpriſe, and ſuch a ſettled devotion to gain, to aſpire at being the ſecond power in Europe to acknowledge American independence, which they have done with great eclat. They never did any thing with more good will. They think it with reaſon one of the brighteſt periods of their hiſtory. It was the naval battle of Dogger's Bank which raiſed their courage. When they found that the fingers of their marine warriors had not forgotten to fight, they began to think that they might venture upon a political manœuvre *."

The Dutch are chagrined with the intelligence from Baſſora, contained in the London Gazette of April the 13th, and are apprehenſive that their ſettlements of Sadras, Hulicat and Bimlipatam, with ſome other places to the northward of Madras, and Chinſura in Bengal,

* A letter from the Hague.

1782. together with Negapatam their principal ſettlement on the coaſt of Coromandel, are actually in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh. They had ſome weeks before heard of the ſucceſsful expedition, which had been carried on againſt Padang, and their other factories on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra. But they conclude from the Britiſh publications, that the French had recovered Demarara and Iſſequibo for them about the end of January *. The ſame Gazette mentions, that Hyder Ally had been ſo repeatedly and totally defeated, as to be obliged to retreat to his own territories.

What follows will afford you peculiar pleaſure, as favoring the rights of conſcience, and militating againſt eccleſiaſtic tyranny.

A circular letter was ſent the laſt year through all the different diſtricts of Bohemia, with the following notice —" That his Imperial majeſty was reſolved to grant to all the proteſtants in his hereditary dominions, liberty of conſcience; and that all the natives of his hereditary dominions, who had become voluntary exiles on account of religion, might return in the fulleſt conviction, that they never ſhould be diſturbed in future on the ſcore of religion." The emperor has likewiſe cauſed an edict of the 28th of laſt November, to be publiſhed at Bruſſels, abſolving the religious orders in the Low Countries from all *foreign independence* whatſoever. On the 19th of January, the following notification appeared in the Vienna Gazette—" Notice is hereby given to all thoſe who have hitherto kept out of their country on account of the religion they profeſs, that his majeſty pardons them, on condition that they return in the courſe

* They ſurrendered to the French by capitulation, Feb. 3, 1782.

of

of the year 1782, promiſing that they ſhall enjoy the 1782.
ſame benefits as thoſe who, on account of religion, had quitted the place of their birth, and taken up their abode in other provinces belonging to his ſaid majeſty." His majeſty has moreover aboliſhed ſeveral religious orders. His edict for the abolition of various convents has taken place at Prague, Brunn, Olmutz, &c. and the nuns and friars are freed from their vows. The poſſeſſions of the already aboliſhed monaſteries exceed what could be imagined. It is ſaid to be the intention of his majeſty, to appropriate all the money he may obtain by the abolitions to charitable uſes.

The emperor has cauſed a reſcript to be circulated throughout his dominions, containing the reaſons and principles which have induced him to diſclaim all ſubordination to the pope in ſecular affairs. They are in ſhort theſe—" That it is the higheſt abſurdity to pretend that the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles had a divine right to more authority than they themſelves ever exerted: nor is any man ignorant, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt only charged them with functions entirely ſpiritual: 1ſt, With the preaching of the goſpel. 2dly, With the care of the propagation of it. 3dly, With the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, (that is, of thoſe which are ſpiritual.) 4thly, With the care of the church." They are the ſame principles as were publiſhed by father Paul in his Rights of ſovereigns and ſubjects: or to aſcend to a much higher authority, in the Books of the New Teſtament, by the *Supreme Head* of the *chriſtian church*, who declared, *my kingdom is not of this world.*

The meaſures adopted and perſiſted in by the emperor, occaſioned great commotions at Rome. The

1782. pope had ſeveral conferences on the ſubject with his cardinals, in which, notwithſtanding his great age, he determined on a journey to Vienna. This was notified to his moſt dear ſon in Jeſus Chriſt, Joſeph, illuſtrious apoſtolic king of Hungary, alſo of Bohemia, king elect of the Romans, in a brief addreſſed to him, and given at Rome by Pope Pius VI. on the fifteenth of December 1781, and of his pontificate the 7th year. Joſeph in his anſwer told his moſt holy father, that he ſhould receive him with all the reſpect and attention due to his exalted ſtation; but that the journey would be ſuperfluous, as he was abſolutely determined in his judgment. The journey was however undertaken; and the ſovereign Roman pontiff arrived at Vienna March the 22d, where he remained till April the 22d, when he ſet out on his return to Rome, fully convinced that his moſt dear ſon had ſent him a true anſwer.

LETTER VIII.

Roxbury, May 23, 1782.

THE acts of congreſs demand our firſt attention.

Feb. 23. On the 23d of February, they reſolved to authorize the commander in chief to agree to the exchange of earl Cornwallis, by compoſition, provided that the honor-

honorable Henry Laurens eſq; ſhall be liberated and pro- 1782.
per aſſurances obtained, that all accounts for the ſupport of the convention priſoners, and all other priſoners of war, ſhall be ſpeedily ſettled and diſcharged.

The ſucceſs which had attended the operation of the allied forces in Virginia, and other favorable appearances conſpiring, the French court turned their attention toward the procuring from congreſs the appointment of thoſe American commiſſioners for negotiating a peace, and with thoſe inſtructions, that would be perfectly agreeable to them. Sundry communications from their miniſter plenipotentiary were laid before that auguſt body of delegates from the United States, which were referred to the ſecretary for foreign affairs, who on the 8th of February delivered in a report, part of which was agreed to, and the remainder referred to a committee. Mr. John Adams was ſo far from being approved of by Monſ. de Vergennes, as the ſole negotiator in that important buſineſs, that the French miniſter labored to have him wholly excluded; and complained heavily of his ſtiffneſs and tenaciouſneſs. Letters had paſſed between them upon the ſubject of the reſolve for fixing the paper money at forty for one, which Vergennes conſidered as an act of bankruptcy. Mr. Adams perſiſted in defending the proceeding with ſo much reſolution, that the French miniſter at length informed him, that the king enjoined ſilence for the future on the ſubject. The meaſures which had been purſued in Holland by Mr. Adams, were alſo diſpleaſing, as they traverſed the policy of the French court. Letters were at length ſent to the French plenipotentiary at Philadelphia, expreſſing the opinion of his court, that they ſhould

1782. not be able to do buſineſs in conſort with Mr. Adams. When the ſame had been communicated to congreſs, a committee was appointed to confer with the chevalier de Luzerne on the affair. A leading perſon in the committee was unwilling that the American miniſter ſhould be ſacrificed to the diſpleaſure of the French court, when the offence was occaſioned by his zeal to ſerve his country. It was therefore propoſed, that he ſhould be inſtructed to do no one thing without the conſent and approbation of the French court: but that he ſhould attend to his former inſtructions, and endeavour all in his power to obtain the fiſhery, &c. but not to make them a *ſine qua non.* This did not ſatisfy; for it was obſerved, that notwithſtanding ſuch inſtructions, Mr. Adams might obſtruct the negotiations by not joining in them. The ſaid perſon judging it would be ſafeſt to put confidence in the French, moved that Mr. Adams ſhould be ultimately directed and guided by the ſentiments of the French court, which being agreed to and communicated, ſatisfied the chevalier. Afterward it was thought adviſable by ſome of the ſouthern delegates, that others ſhould be joined with Mr. Adams; and accordingly congreſs agreed, that the honorable John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, ſhould be their commiſſioners for negotiating a peace. Their commiſſions were accompanied with the following inſtructions—"You are to concur in behalf of the United States, with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in accepting the mediation propoſed by the empreſs of Ruſſia and the emperor of Germany.—You are to accede to no treaty of peace, 1. which ſhall not effectually ſecure the independence and ſovereignty of the

the Thirteen States, according to the form and effect 1781.
of the treaties ſubſiſting between the ſaid ſtates and his moſt chriſtian majeſty; and 2. in which the ſaid treaties ſhall not be left in their full force and validity.—As to boundaries and other particulars we refer you to the inſtructions given Mr. Adams, dated the 14th of Auguſt 1779, and 18th of October 1780. We think it unſafe at this diſtance to tie you up by abſolute and peremptory directions, on any other ſubject than the two eſſential articles above-mentioned. You are at liberty to ſecure the intereſts of the United States, in ſuch manner as circumſtances may direct; and as the ſtate of the belligerent, and diſpoſition of the mediating powers may require.—You are to make the moſt candid and confidential communications upon all ſubjects to the miniſter of the king of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiation for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence, and ultimately to govern yourſelves by their advice and opinion, endeavouring in your whole conduct to make them ſenſible, how much we rely on his majeſty's influence for effectual ſupport, in every thing neceſſary to the preſent ſecurity or future proſperity of the United States.—If a difficulty ſhould occur in the courſe of the negotiation for peace, from the backwardneſs of the Britiſh to make a formal acknowledgment of our independence, you are at liberty to agree to a truce, or to make ſuch other conceſſions as may not affect the ſubſtance of what we contend for, and provided that Britain be not left in poſſeſſion of any part of the Thirteen United States."

The committee to whom was referred the memorial of the miniſter of France, were directed by congreſs to

1782. communicate confidentially to the ſaid miniſter, the ſubſtance of the foregoing inſtructions. The commiſſions and inſtructions were ſent to France ſoon enough to admit of their being received early in May.

March 24. On Sunday the 24th of March, capt. Joſhua Huddy, who commanded the troops at the block-houſe on Tom's river in Monmouth county, New Jerſey, was attacked by a number of refugees from New York; and taken after defending himſelf gallantly till all his ammunition was expended. He was kept in cloſe cuſtody; and on Monday the 8th of April was told, "That he was ordered to be hanged." Four days after he was April 12. ſent out with a party of refugees, and hanged about ten o'clock on the heights of Middletown. The following label was affixed to his breaſt—"We the refugees, having with grief, long beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but ſuch meaſures daily carrying into execution—we therefore determine not to ſuffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin (and I ſay may thoſe loſe their liberty who do not follow on) and have made uſe of captain Huddy as the firſt object to preſent to your view; and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee exiſting. Up goes HUDDY for PHILIP WHITE." Philip White was taken by a party of the Jerſey people on the 30th of March, and was killed in attempting to make his eſcape afterward.

When this affair was made known to gen. Waſhington, he propoſed a number of queſtions, on the caſe of captain Huddy, to the general officers and others, who were for retaliation. However, inſtead of immediately executing

executing an officer of equal rank with Huddy upon receiving proofs of his murder, Waſhington wrote to Clinton, that unleſs the perpetrators of that deed were delivered up, he ſhould be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of retaliating. On the 20th, he ſent a letter to congreſs, with the copy of a memorial from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, and ſundry affidavits reſpecting the death of the captain; which produced the following reſolution on the 29th—"That congreſs having deliberately conſidered the ſaid letter and the papers attending it, and being deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of convincing the enemies of theſe United States, by the moſt decided conduct, that the repetition of their unprecedented and inhuman cruelties, ſo contrary to the laws of nations and of war, will be no longer ſuffered with impunity, do unanimouſly approve of the firm and judicious conduct of the commander in chief in his application to the Britiſh general at New York, and do hereby aſſure him of their firmeſt ſupport in his fixed purpoſe of exemplary retaliation." What alteration may be produced by the change of Britiſh generals, remains to be diſcovered. Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York on the 5th of May, and is now commander in chief of the king's forces in America. From his tried and known humanity, it may be concluded with certainty, that no acts of barbarity will be ſupported by his countenance.

1782. 29. May 5.

Negotiations were carried on the laſt year between ſome leading perſons belonging to Vermont and the Britiſh in Canada and New York; which produced jealouſies in the minds of ſeveral, who thought that the rulers meant to unite that country to Great Britain, contrary

1782. trary to the wiſh and without the knowledge of the inhabitants in general. Mr. Thomas Chittenden, the go-
Jan. vernor, was addreſſed in a letter of January the 1ſt,
1. upon the ſubject, by a gentleman of the firſt conſequence; to whom he gave the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that ſuch negotiations were ſo far innocent, that there never was any ſerious intention of joining Great Britain in their attempts to ſubjugate the United States. But the intercourſe had undoubtedly a bad tendency; and gave the Britiſh ſome ground to hope, that they ſhould annex the people of Vermont to their intereſts.

General Waſhington wrote to gov. Hancock on the
31. 31ſt of January. The letter was upon public buſineſs, and urged the ſpeedy pointed and effectual compliance of the ſtate, with the requiſitions of congreſs for completing their battalions; that ſo all the fruits of the ſucceſſes of the preceding campaign might not be thrown away, by an inglorious winter of languor and inactivity. It inſiſted on the neceſſity of having a powerful army early in the field. "Soon," ſays the general, "might we hope to enjoy all the bleſſings of peace, if we could ſee again the ſame animation in the cauſe of our country inſpiring every breaſt, the ſame paſſion for freedom and military glory impelling our youths to the field, and the ſame diſintereſted patriotiſm pervading every rank of men, as was conſpicuous at the commencement of this glorious revolution." He preſſed the furniſhing of the recruits in ſeaſon, and the eſtabliſhing of checks to prevent impoſitions as to the quality of the men, that none might be accepted but able bodied and effective, and that it might not be attempted to impoſe upon them decrepid or improper men or boys as ſoldiers.

Near

Near the end of April he obſerved, that the efficient 1782.
operating force of the northern army could be no more than 7,553 rank and file; and that he ſhould be uncandid, was he not to acknowledge, that he did not expect it would be increaſed by recruits in the courſe of the campaign to more than 10,000 fit for duty in the field. He eſtimated the royal force in New York, including their eſtabliſhed corps of provincials at 9,000, and their militia refugees and independent companies at 4000, in all 13,000; beſide about 3,300 at Charleſtown, and about 700 at Savannah.

The bank of North America opened at Philadelphia on the 7th of January. Through the eſtabliſhment of it, Mr. Morris, the financier, was enabled to ſupport credit, and to keep things in motion till the 23d of April. Without that he muſt have ſtopped; for the public money was exhauſted, and he had not at that hour received one farthing from any ſtate in the union. There was too much cauſe for complaining of a diſgraceful languor in moſt of the governments; and which has its origin in ſelfiſh views, party ſpirit or worſe motives. The ſtates were half a million of dollars in debt on this year's taxes, which had been raiſed by anticipation on that ſyſtem of credit which Mr. Morris had created. On the 14th of May he thus expreſſed himſelf in a letter to gov. Hancock—"On the 1ſt of January 1782, with a heavy arrearage for 1781, unpaid on the face of the requiſitions of congreſs, I had to provide for a three months expenditure, when no man would truſt the public for a ſingle dollar: your legiſlature knew the ſtate of public credit as well as I did. Inſtead of providing money for the 1ſt of April, they have made no

April 23.

May 14.

effort

1782. effort for that purpoſe which can take effect before the 1ſt of June. Now then let us ſuppoſe every ſtate in the union to be as negligent, and many of them are much more ſo, what can gentlemen promiſe themſelves. I apprehend the moſt terrible conſequences. I beg you to preſs an immediate payment of money, the neceſſity of which it is not eaſy to conceive, nor prudent to declare." The French king allotted in December laſt ſix millions of livres to the aſſiſtance of the United States, and the financier was allowed to draw for 500,000 tournais monthly. This was but half he aſked for; and he hopes that the other ſix millions may be granted, as that arrangement had been made before the arrival of the marquis de la Fayette. The moſt peremptory declarations however attended that grant, that it was all the United States were to have. Previous to the receipt of the news of the grant, the financier had been obliged to hazard drafts for 500,000 livres, and to order Dr. Franklin to reſell the goods bought in Holland, if he had no other means of paying the bills. He requeſted the miniſter of France, and the ſecretary of foreign affairs, and the ſecretary at war, to keep the grant from congreſs, and all other perſons, as much as poſſible, through fear that if it came to the knowledge of the ſeveral legiſlatures, they who had not paſſed their tax bills, would no longer think it neceſſary to paſs them, and inſtead of exerting themſelves, would hang their hopes on foreign aid.

The affairs of South Carolina and Georgia ſhall now be related.

General Greene's army took its poſition on col. Sanders's plantation at Round O, on the 7th of laſt December.

cember. On the 14th, the general wrote to the American board of war—" We cannot advance upon the enemy for want of ammunition, though we have been in readineſs more than ten days. I have not a quire of paper in the world, nor are there two in the army. We broil moſt of our meat, for want of camp kettles." On the 4th of January, he congratulated the army on the arrival of major general St. Clair and the reinforcement under his command. Within a week after, the army moved down to Jackſonborough (about 35 miles from Charleſtown) ſo to Stono, and then on the 16th to col. Skerving's, on the eaſt ſide of the Ediſto, about 5 miles from Jackſonborough. Greene left it when the movement commenced, and croſſing the Ediſto, proceeded to join the light troops under cols. Lee and Laurens. He informed the ſecretary at war from his head quarters near Charleſtown on the 23d—" I would order the returns you require, but we really have not paper to make them on, not having had for months paſt even paper to make proviſion returns, or to record the neceſſary returns of the army." The next day he wrote—" Since we have been in the lower country, through the difficulty of tranſportation we were four weeks without ammunition, while there was a plenty of this article at Charlotte. We lay within a few miles of the enemy with not ſix rounds a man. Had they got knowledge and availed themſelves of our ſituation, they might have ruined us. The ſtates here are become ſo tardy, as to regard repreſentations little more than idle dreams, or an eaſtern tale. We may write till we are blind; and the local policy of the ſtates, in perfect ſecurity, will counteract our wiſhes." The following extracts from his

1782. Jan. 4. 24.

1782. his letters will be the moſt acceptable medium of conveying his ſentiments—" Jan. 28th. I was well informed you had let in ſome prejudices to my diſadvantage, ſuch as my being more influenced by men than meaſures, and that in the field I had neither activity nor enterpriſe. However mortifying theſe things were, my pride would not permit me to undeceive you; and ſuch was my ſituation at that time, that it would have been difficult, if not impracticable, had I attempted it. My military conduct muſt ſpeak for itſelf. I have only to obſerve, that I have not been at liberty to follow my own genius till lately, and here I have had more embarraſſments than is proper to diſcloſe to the world. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that this part of the United States has had a narrow eſcape. I was *ſeven months* in the field
Feb. 6. without taking my clothes off *one* night." [He only took them off to change his linen.] " Feb. 6th. You can have little idea of the confuſion and diſorder, which prevail among the ſouthern ſtates. The ſcenes change ſo faſt, and the operation of law is ſo feeble, that it is almoſt impoſſible to give any regular tone, to any kind of buſineſs. Stores are ſubject to ſuch waſte, and ſuch abuſes prevail upon the lines of communication, as well as poſts, that it is next to impoſſible to keep the public from being impoſed upon. Our difficulties are ſo numerous, and our wants ſo preſſing, that I have not a moment's relief from the moſt painful anxieties."—" Feb. 8th. The little money Mr. Morris has received from Europe, it is well known, was granted by the king of France, for the ſpecial purpoſe of paying the army."—" Feb. 18th. Lieut. col. Lee retires for a time for the recovery of his health. I am more indebted to this

officer than any other, for the advantages gained over 1782.
the enemy in the operations of laſt campaign, and ſhould
be wanting in gratitude, not to acknowledge the im-
portance of his ſervices, a detail of which is his beſt Mar.
panegyric."—" March 11th. A great part of our 11.
troops are in a deplorable ſituation for want of clothing.
We have 300 men without arms; and more than 1000
are ſo naked, that they can only be put on duty in caſes
of a deſperate nature. We have been all the winter in
want of arms and clothing; and yet both upon the
road, though neither could reach us, from the want of
means for tranſporting our ſtores by land through an April
extenſive and exhauſted country."—" April 13th. The 13.
want of clothing, pay and better ſubſiſtence, and being
altogether without ſpirits, has given a murmuring and
diſcontented tone to the army, and the face of mutiny
diſcovers itſelf. I feel much for this department. No
part of Saxony, during the laſt war, I believe, ever felt
the ravaging hand of war with greater ſeverity, than it
has been felt here. Our number is greatly inferior at
preſent to the enemy: ſoon and moſt of the North Caro-
lina brigade leaves us." [It has been computed, that
fourteen hundred widows were made by the ravaging
hand of war, in the ſingle diſtrict of Ninety Six.]—
" April 22. Diſcontent is daily increaſing, and the 22.
ſpirit of mutiny very prevalent. It ſeems to have ori-
ginated in the Pennſylvania line; and the parties have
endeavoured to ſpread the contagion through the army
with appearances of ſucceſs. I have been able to prove
the fact but on one perſon, whom I ordered to be ſhot
this day. He was a ſergeant and had much influence
in the line. I wiſh this example may deter them from
the

1782. the execution of a ſcheme, which we have been dreading every night." [The ſcheme alluded to was that of betraying the army into the power of the enemy.]

The South Carolina repreſentatives having been elected agreeable to the writs iſſued by governor Rutledge, the general aſſembly met in January, at Jackſonborough, a ſmall village on the Ediſto. The governor, at the opening of the ſeſſion on the 18th of the month, delivered a ſpeech to both houſes; for which he received the thanks of each in their addreſſes. The conſtitution of the ſtate eſtabliſhed a rotation, which made it neceſſary to chooſe a new governor. The ſuffrages of a majority were in favor of the former lieut. gov. Chriſtopher Gadſden eſq; who declined the laborious office, but continued to ſerve both in the aſſembly and council. He, with many other gentlemen, who had been delivered as exchanged in Virginia and Philadelphia, ſoon found their way back to South Carolina, and were choſen members of the legiſlature. The general aſſembly afterward elected the honorable John Mathews governor; filled up vacancies in the different departments; and re-eſtabliſhed civil government in all its branches. Laws were then paſſed for confiſcating the eſtates, and baniſhing the perſons of the active decided friends of Britiſh government, and for amercing the eſtates of others, as a ſubſtitution for their perſonal ſervices, of which their country had been deprived. Mr. Gadſden, notwithſtanding the long confinement he had ſuffered in the caſtle of St. Auguſtine, and the immenſe loſs of his property, oppoſed the firſt law, and with equal zeal and judgment contended that ſound policy required to forget

Jan. 18.

and

and forgive. Two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons or eſtates were comprehended under that law, and forty-eight under the other. Thoſe whoſe ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh appeared to be neceſſary and unavoidable, and who did not voluntarily aid or abet their government, were generally overlooked. The execution of theſe laws induced gen. Leſlie, who commanded the royal forces in Carolina, to ſend a part of them to ſeize the negroes and other effects belonging to the whig-citizens, with the avowed intention of applying the ſame to the relief of the ſufferers by the ſaid laws. After a ſucceſsful excurſion, he wrote to gen. Greene on the 4th of April; and beſide urging the motives of humanity, policy and example, for the ſuſpenſion of ſuch procedures, propoſed a meeting of commiſſioners on each ſide, whereby to leſſen the devaſtations of war and ſecure inviolate the property of individuals. Greene immediately returned for anſwer, "that he had the honor to command the forces of the United States in the ſouthern department; but had nothing to do with the internal police of any ſtate." On this Leſlie addreſſed himſelf to gov. Mathews, and encloſed the letter he had addreſſed to Greene. The governor anſwered on the 12th, after delaying a while, that he might have an opportunity of inveſtigating the truth as to certain matters advanced in Leſlie's letter; and told him—"You entirely miſtake my character when you ſuppoſe me to be intimidated by threats, and thereby deterred from executing the duties of the office with which the ſtate has honored me. For be aſſured, Sir, the laws of this ſtate truſted to me muſt and ſhall be carried into execution—maugre the conſequences." He cloſed with

1782. April 4.

1782. ſaying—" Your propoſition for ſuſpending the operation of the confiſcation act, without offering an equivalent, is inadmiſſible. If you have any thing ſerious and ſolid to propoſe on this head, I am ready to appoint commiſſioners on my part to meet thoſe of yours to confer on the buſineſs." Thus ended that affair. It might have ſerved the friends to the Britiſh government far more effectually, had gen. Leſlie adopted vigorous meaſures for their ſupport anſwerable to his proclamation, and for the diſperſion of the legiſlative body.

When the reduction of lord Cornwallis was completed, the Pennſylvania line marched to South Carolina. This increaſe of force enabled gen. Greene to detach a part of his army to Georgia. Gen. Wayne, who commanded, having previouſly ordered the Americans at Auguſta to join him at Ebenezer, croſſed the Savannah in January at Two Siſters ferry, with about 100 dragoons under col. Anthony Walton White. He was ſoon after reinforced by 300 continental infantry under lieut. col. Poſey. The Britiſh commander in Savannah, on hearing of this irruption of the Americans, ſent orders to the different poſts to burn, as far as they could, all the proviſions in the country, and then to retire within their works. The margin of the river Savannah, and the iſlands in the vicinity of it, were ſoon covered with ſmoke, and preſented to the aſtoniſhing eye a grand but awful ſpectacle. What remained of the laſt year's crop was ſo generally deſtroyed, that the American forces have been ſince obliged to depend chiefly on South Carolina for their ſupport.

LET-

LETTER IX.

Rotterdam, Sept. 13, 1782.

FRIEND G.

THE date of my laſt letter ſcarce admitted of its being mentioned, that admiral Keppel was created a viſcount, and Mr. Dunning baron Aſhburton, and afterward made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter. 1782.

On the 9th of April, Mr. Fox brought a meſſage from his majeſty to inform the houſe, "That being concerned to find diſcontents and jealouſies prevailing among his loyal ſubjects in Ireland, on matters of great importance, he earneſtly recommended to the houſe the taking of the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as might give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms." A like meſſage was delivered to the houſe of lords. April

Adminiſtration proceeding in this weighty buſineſs in conſort with the parliament of Ireland, a meſſage conceived in the ſame terms was ſent by the duke of Portland, the lord lieutenant, to the commons of that kingdom, on the 26th, immediately after his arrival to take upon him the government. The addreſs to the king in conſequence of it, was moved by Mr. Grattan, the great and eloquent leader of the popular party. This addreſs, after a full and explicit aſſertion of the independent rights of the kingdom of Ireland, proceeded to ſtate the cauſes of thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents

1782. which had ariſen in that country, viz. the act of the ſixth of George I; the power of ſuppreſſing or altering bills in the privy council; and the perpetual mutiny bill. On the ground of this addreſs, Mr. Fox moved in the Britiſh houſe of commons on the 17th of May, "1. That leave be given to bring in a bill for the repeal of the act, 6 George I. cap. v.—2. That it be reſolved, that it is neceſſary to the mutual happineſs of the two countries, that a firm and ſolid connection ſhould be forthwith eſtabliſhed by the conſent of both.—3. That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he may be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions for promoting the latter reſolution." Theſe motions paſſed without any oppoſition. In return for this liberal procedure of the Britiſh government, in relinquiſhing eſtabliſhed claims without any ſtipulation whatever, the parliament of Ireland voted 100,000l. for the raiſing of 20,000 Iriſh ſeamen to ſerve in his majeſty's navy. The ſum of 50,000l. was alſo voted, "for purchaſing an eſtate, and erecting a manſion thereon, to be ſettled on Henry Grattan eſq; and the heirs of his body, as a teſtimony of their gratitude, for the unequalled benefits conferred by him on that kingdom." On the 11th of June, Mr. Fox brought in a bill for the repeal of the aforementioned act, which paſſed without a word of oppoſition. By that act, "the king's majeſty, by and with the advice of the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, hath had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland; and that the houſe of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right

ought to have, any juriſdiction to judge, affirm, or re- 1782.
verſe any judgment, ſentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the ſaid kingdom; and that all proceedings before the ſaid houſe of lords upon any ſuch ſentence or decree are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever." The bill received the royal aſſent by commiſſion on the 1ſt of July. It muſt be noted, that before the bill was brought in, the duke of Portland went in ſtate to the Iriſh houſe of peers on the 30th of May, to announce the concurrence of the king and parliament of Great Britain to the independent rights claimed by Ireland. On the 18th of June, the delegates of the volunteer corps of the four provinces, at their general meeting held in Dublin, reſolved unanimouſly—"That the addreſſes of the Iriſh parliament having diſclaimed any power or authority, of any ſort whatſoever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we ſhall conſider a repeal of the 6th of George I. by the Britiſh parliament, made in purſuance of the ſaid addreſſes, a *complete renunciation* of all the claims contained in the ſaid ſtatute; and as ſuch we will accept it, and deem it ſatisfactory." On the 18th of July, it was moved in the houſe of lords—"That this houſe, having the fulleſt confidence in the anſwer to their addreſs to his majeſty of the 27th of April laſt, cannot entertain a doubt but that the independence of the legiſlature of this kingdom, both as to internal and external objects, will be inviolably maintained." This motion was meant as an explicit declaration of the total independence of the Iriſh legiſlature on that of Great Britain in all caſes whatſoever, and paſſed without a negative. Thus have the

1782. patriots of Ireland, by their judicious, ſteady, and temperate conduct, made the war with the United States of America ſubſervient to the eſtabliſhing of their own independency without bloodſhed and devaſtation. Had rights ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe which were conceded to them, been early granted to the Americans, the union of the latter with the mother country had been continued; and the enormous expences of war, and all its concomitant miſeries been avoided. When the duke of Portland put an end to the ſeſſion on the 27th of July, he obſerved to both houſes with ſatisfaction, that they had provided for the impartial and unbiaſſed adminiſtration of juſtice, by the act for ſecuring the independence of the judges; that they had adopted one of the moſt effectual ſecurities of Britiſh freedom, by limiting the mutiny act in point of duration; that they had ſecured that moſt invaluable of all human bleſſings, the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, by paſſing the habeas corpus act; and that they had cheriſhed and enlarged the wiſe principles of toleration, and made conſiderable advances in aboliſhing thoſe diſtinctions which had too long impeded the progreſs of induſtry, and divided the nation.

While meaſures were purſuing for eſtabliſhing harmony between Great Britain and Ireland, adminiſtration applied themſelves to the perfecting of thoſe plans of œconomy and reform, for the execution of which they were pledged to the public. The bills for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting in the election of members of parliament, and for rendering contractors incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons, paſſed the lower houſe after a feeble oppoſition; and though ſtrenuouſly combated

combated in the upper, were carried by very large ma- 1782.
jorities, and received the royal aſſent.

Mr. Burke, while the bills were pending, brought forward afreſh the great plan of reform in the civil liſt expenditure, which he had ſubmitted to parliament two years before. This object, in which were combined the principles of future œconomy and the abolition of great influence in both houſes of parliament, was introduced by a meſſage from the king. In the beginning of May, Mr. Burke was called to the chair of the committee, and was directed to move the houſe for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majeſty to pay off the debt on the civil liſt, to prevent the like in future, and to carry into a law the retrenchments which his majeſty had graciouſly propoſed to make in his houſehold. A number of offices, uſually held by members of parliament, were aboliſhed; and the annual ſaving ariſing from the reform, which would be yearly increaſing, amounted to 72,368l. He apologized for the bills not being more extenſive; and engaged to obey their call, whenever it appeared to be the general ſenſe of the houſe and of the people, that he ſhould undertake and go through with a more complete ſyſtem of reform.

The gentleman's magazine for May, gives you in the May
hiſtorical chronicle under Monday 6, the particulars of 6.
the reform; and immediately under it the following extraordinary article of reform in the houſe of commons—This day the entry on the journals of the houſe of commons of the 17th of February, 1769, importing, "that John Wilkes eſq; was judged incapable of ſitting in that houſe," was, on motion, ordered to be expunged, 115 to 47.—Thus has Mr. Wilkes triumphed at laſt in the

1782. caſe of the Middleſex election, after a long ſucceſſion of annual defeats. Mr. Burke's reforming bill was followed by another for the regulation of his own office. The principal object of it was, to prevent the poſſibility of any balance accumulating in the hands of the pay-maſter general, which, he ſaid, had ſometimes amounted to the enormous ſum of a million of pounds, the intereſt of which would be annually ſaved to the public. He alſo ſtated, that as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital, he enjoyed the profits ariſing from the clothing of the penſioners. The profits of the contract had uſually amounted to 700l. per annum; but by a bargain he had made with a contractor, who was not a member of parliament, it would amount to 600l. more. This ſum of 1300l. a year, he meant to reſign his claim to, and to appropriate it to ſome public ſervice.

The ſubject of a reform in the conſtitution of parliament was not wholly abandoned; but was brought again before the houſe by Mr. William Pitt, who moved—"That a committee be appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation in parliament, and to report to the houſe their ſentiments thereon." A long debate enſued, and was ably ſupported by gentlemen on each ſide the queſtion; but on a diviſion the motion was rejected by a majority of 161 to 141.

While the parliament was thus employed, the miniſtry were not inattentive to the great object of the nation's deſire, the reſtoration of peace; which was ſo far in
July 1. train, that on the 1ſt of July a communication was opened between Dover and Calais, and four Britiſh and four French veſſels were appointed to ſail alternately from each port. But the day was rendered much more memorable

morable by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, 1782.
whoſe health had been gradually declining, and at length ſunk under the increaſing weight of public cares and buſineſs. This event occaſioned various changes in the adminiſtration. The earl of Shelburne was appointed the marquis's ſucceſſor in the treaſury. Lord John Cavendiſh and Mr. Fox ſoon after reſigned their offices, and were followed by the duke of Portland and others. Mr. William Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer: Mr. T. Townſhend and lord Grantham ſecretaries of ſtate. Lord Shelburne having occaſion to ſpeak on the ſubject of the independence of America on the 10th, ſaid, "that his opinions were ſtill the ſame; but circumſtances had changed, and he now ſaw it was become a neceſſary evil, to which his country muſt ſubmit to avoid a greater." On the 11th, his majeſty went to the 11.
houſe of peers, and by his royal ſpeech put an end to the ſeſſion.

The ſucceſſes of the Britiſh in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies and in Europe, which were known long before the riſing of parliament, were favorable circumſtances, and tended to give ſtability to adminiſtration, by the public ſatisfaction they produced. We ſhall now enter upon their narrative.

The Dutch garriſon of Negapatam was reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder Ally's troops, before the Engliſh company's appeared upon the coaſt of Coromandel. Major gen. Monro landed on the 21ſt of October, and then took the command of them. He was followed by the whole corps of marines from adm. Hughes's fleet. By the 10th of November, the breaching battery being ready, and opening at day light, the garriſon

1782. garriſon ſoon demanded a parley and capitulated. They conſiſted of 8000 men; 500 were European regulars and militia. On the 2d of January the admiral ſailed from Negapatam roads, and on the 4th arrived at Trincomale bay. The next day all the troops were diſembarked and landed before dark. The ſeamen and marines immediately formed, and puſhing through the gateway made themſelves maſters of the fort, while the governor was drawing up a capitulation. The only remaining force was a fort on the top of a high hill, which commanded the harbour and had an open communication with the ſhips. The commander refuſing to ſurrender, a ſtorming party of ſeamen and marines aſſaulted and carried it on the morning of the 11th, with little loſs. Upon the ſurrender of Negapatam, Hyder Ally's troops evacuated all the forts and ſtrong poſts they held in the Tanjore country. This intelligence however was ſomewhat damped by the news received from Bombay at the Eaſt India houſe on the 28th of Auguſt, being an account of an action on the 17th of Feb. between Sir Edward Hughes and Monſ. de Suffrein, in which ſeveral of the Britiſh ſhips ſuffered conſiderably.

When the ſeaſon for naval action in the European part of the world approached, great threats were held out of the mighty effects to be produced by a combination of the whole marine force of France, Spain and Holland. It was therefore an object of the firſt importance to Great Britain to prevent ſuch combination, by keeping that watch upon the Dutch fleet which would diſable them from penetrating the channel in their way to Breſt, the appointed place of rendezvous. A plan of operation, princi-

principally defenſive, was concerted by the new admi- 1782.
ralty, which had been juſt formed.

While the reſt of the fleet was preparing, adm. Bar- April
rington ſailed from Portſmouth for the Bay, with 12 ſail 13.
of the line. On the 20th a fleet was diſcovered, and the ſignal for general chaſe inſtantly thrown out. The Foudroyant, capt. Jarvis, being a prime ſailer, ſo far outſtripped the reſt, that when night came on, with hazy and blowing weather, he ſoon loſt them entirely; but he kept a full view of the enemy, and purſued them with unremitting vigor. The chaſed fleet conſiſted of 18 ſail, laden with ſtores and conveying a conſiderable number of troops, for the ſupply and reinforcement of the French fleet and forces in the Eaſt Indies. They had ſailed from Breſt only the day before, and were under the protection of the Protecteur and Pegaſe of 74 guns each, L'Actionare of 64, but armed *en flute*, and a frigate. The convoy was diſperſed by ſignal, and the two French 74 guns ſhips having conſulted, it was agreed, that as the Protecteur had a large quantity of money on board, ſhe ſhould make the beſt of her way; and that if fighting was inevitable, the Pegaſe ſhould abide the conſequences. A little before one in the morning capt. Jarvis came up with and cloſely engaged her. The action was fierce while it laſted, but within leſs than an hour the Pegaſe was compelled to ſurrender. Soon after day light, the Queen man of war came in ſight and took upon her the charge of the diſabled captured ſhip. The Queen and Foudroyant ſoon loſt ſight of each other in a hard gale which enſued. The next day a large man of war appeared in ſight of the Queen. The captain, Maitland, ſoon purſued; and after a chaſe of 14

1782. hours came up in the night with the French ſhip. She received his broadſide, returned hers, and then ſtruck her colours. She proved to be the Actionaire; and was a valuable prize having a great quantity of naval ordnance ſtores on board, beſide wine, rum, proviſions, and ſeveral cheſts of money. Ten large tranſports and a ſchooner, beſide the men of war, were taken. The bad weather obliged Barrington to finiſh his ſucceſsful cruiſe by returning to Britain toward the cloſe of the month.

The naval force of France and Spain in the Weſt Indies, ſoon after the reduction of St. Kitt's, amounted to 60 ſhips of the line; and their land forces when joined would have formed a conſiderable army. Jamaica had no more than ſix incomplete battalions of regular troops and the militia of the iſland to defend it; and there-
Feb. fore in caſe of an attack muſt have been ſoon ſubdued.
19. The arrival of Sir George Rodney with 12 ſail of the line at Barbadoes, and his ſubſequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's ſquadron, together with the arrival of three ſhips of the line from Great Britain a few days after, was providentially deſigned for the preſervation of Jamaica.

The firſt object with Sir George was to intercept the convoy that ſailed from Breſt in February; and which was deſigned to ſupply the failure of that which was attacked by adm. Kempenfelt. Rodney diſpoſed of his capital ſhips in a line to the windward of the French iſlands, and formed a line of frigates ſtill further to windward. But the French convoy, by making the iſland of Deſiada to the northward, getting to the leeward of the Britiſh fleet, and keeping cloſe in under the land of Guadaloupe and Dominique, had the addreſs to

eſcape

eſcape the danger, and to arrive ſafe in Fort Royal bay, where they found the count de Graſſe. 1782. Mar. 20.

Sir George Rodney, on finding himſelf diſappointed, returned to St. Lucie; there to refit; take in a ſupply of water, ſtores and proviſions; and keep a ſtrict watch with his frigates on the movements of the French in Fort Royal bay. The objects of the hoſtile commanders were not leſs oppoſite than their intereſts. It was the buſineſs and deſign of de Graſſe to avoid fighting, till he had formed a junction with the Spaniſh fleet under don Solano at Hiſpaniola. On the other ſide, the ſalvation of the Weſt Indies, with the whole fortune and hope of the war, depended upon Rodney's preventing the junction, or bringing on a cloſe and deciſive engagement with de Graſſe before it took place. The Britiſh fleet at St. Lucie amounted to 36 ſhips of the line: the force under de Graſſe at Martinico to 34, beſide two ſhips of the line armed *en flute*, and two fifty-fours, the firſt were not in either engagement; and the laſt if preſent acted only as frigates. The French fleet, beſide a full compliment of ſeamen, had 5500 land forces on board. The Ville de Paris of 110 guns, de Graſſe's own ſhip, carried not leſs than 1300 men including ſoldiers. The French 74's carried 900 men each. Their metal is always heavier than that of the Britiſh, in equal rates: but ſeveral of their ſhips were in very indifferent condition. The Britiſh had five 90 gun ſhips, which was their higheſt rate; and the French had eight of 84 and 80 guns each, beſide the Ville de Paris. The comparative balance of the force on both ſides was tolerably even; and contending fleets do not often meet upon more equal terms. The van of the Britiſh was commanded

1782. manded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by adm. Francis Drake. The three diviſions of the French fleet were under count de Graſſe, Monſ. de Vaudreuil, and Monſ. de Bougainville.

April 8. The French fleet began to turn out of Fort Royal harbour by break of day, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward and intending to fall down to the French or Spaniſh ports in Hiſpaniola. De Graſſe, that he might avoid any encounter on his paſſage, meant to keep cloſe in under the iſlands, till he had eluded the purſuit of the Britiſh. But their departure from the bay, and movements, were ſo ſpeedily communicated by ſignals from the frigates, and the Britiſh fleet was in ſuch excellent preparation, that all the ſhips were clear of Groſs Iſlet Bay by noon, and purſued with the utmoſt expedition; ſo that the French ſaved only a few hours, by being maſters of the time of departure. The Britiſh gained ſight of them under Dominique at night; and afterward regulated the purſuit by ſignals.

Count de Graſſe formed the line of battle to windward early the next morning; and thereby afforded an opportunity to his convoy for proceeding on their courſe, while he remained to abide the conſequences. While the count had wind enough for theſe movements by being further advanced toward Guadaloupe, the Britiſh fleet lay becalmed under the high lands of Dominique. The breeze at length reached the van of the latter; and the ſhips began to cloſe with the French centre, while their own centre and rear were ſtill becalmed. If de Graſſe could have avoided an engagement, it muſt be thought

thought that the proſpect of falling with his whole weight upon and entirely cruſhing one third of his enemy's force, was too tempting to be reſiſted. The action commenced about 9 o'clock. The attack was lead by the Royal Oak, and ſeconded by the Alfred and the Montague. The whole diviſion was in a few minutes cloſely engaged, and for more than an hour was exceedingly preſſed by the ſuperiority of the French. The Barfleur, Sir S. Hood's own ſhip, had at times ſeven, and generally three ſhips firing upon her: none of the diviſion eſcaped encountering a diſproportionate force. The firm and effectual reſiſtance, with which they ſuſtained all the efforts of the enemy's ſuperiority, was to the higheſt degree glorious. At length the leading ſhips of the centre were enabled to come up to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were ſoon followed by Sir G. Rodney in the Formidable, with his ſeconds the Namur and the Duke, all of 90 guns: they made and ſupported a moſt tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a 74 gun ſhip in the rear, who having backed his main-top-ſail, ſteadily received and bravely returned the fire of theſe three great ſhips in ſucceſſion, without in the leaſt changing his ſtation, excited the applauſe and admiration of his enemies. The coming up of theſe ſeveral ſhips of the centre diviſion, induced the French commander to change the nature of the action, that ſo it might not become deciſive. He kept at ſuch a diſtance during the remainder of the engagement, as evidenced an intention of diſabling the Britiſh ſhips without any conſiderable hazard on his own ſide. This kind of firing produced as much effect as the diſtance would admit, and was well ſupported by both parties

1782. 9.

for

1782. for an hour and three quarters longer; during all which time, the reſt of the Britiſh fleet was held back, by the calms and baffling winds under Dominique. About twelve o'clock, the remaining ſhips of the Britiſh centre came up, and the rear was cloſing the line: on which de Graſſe withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the Britiſh commanders for its renewal. The French ſhips received much more damage than their own fire produced. Two of them were obliged to quit the fleet and put into Guadaloupe, which reduced the count's line to 32 ſhips. On the Britiſh ſide the Royal Oak and the Montague ſuffered extremely; but were capable of being repaired at ſea, ſo as not to be under the neceſſity of quitting the fleet.

The Britiſh fleet lay to at night to repair damages; and the following day was principally ſpent in refitting, in keeping the wind, and in tranſpoſing the rear and the van, as the former (not having been engaged) was neceſſarily fitter for the active ſervice of that diviſion. Both fleets kept turning up to windward, in the channel which ſeparates the iſlands of Dominique and Guadaloupe.

On the 11th the French had weathered Guadaloupe, and gained ſuch a diſtance, that the body of their fleet could only be deſcried from the maſt-heads of the Britiſh centre; and all hope of Sir G. Rodney's coming up with them ſeemed to be at an end. In this critical ſtate of things, one of the French ſhips, which had ſuffered in the action, was perceived, about noon, to fall off conſiderably from the reſt of the fleet to leeward. This ſight produced ſignals from the Britiſh admiral for a general chaſe; which was ſo vigorous, that the Agamemnon,

memnon, and ſome others of the headmoſt of the Britiſh line, were coming up ſo faſt with this ſhip, that ſhe would aſſuredly have been cut off before evening, had not her ſignals and evident danger, induced de Graſſe to bear down with his whole fleet to her aſſiſtance. This movement made it impoſſible for the French to avoid fighting. The purſuing Britiſh ſhips fell back into their ſtation; a cloſe line was formed; and ſuch manœuvres practiſed in the night, as were neceſſary to preſerve things in their preſent ſtate, and as might poſſibly produce caſual advantage. The French alſo prepared for battle with the greateſt reſolution. 1782.

The ſcene of action lay between the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints and Marigalante; and was bounded both to windward and leeward by dangerous ſhores. The hoſtile fleets met upon oppoſite tacks. The battle commenced about 7 o'clock in the morning, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the ſame hour in the evening. Adm. Drake's diviſion led, and with much gallantry received and returned the fire of the whole French line; whoſe guns were pointed ſo little to the hulls, or ſo illy ſerved, that Drake's leading ſhip, the Marlborough, had only three men killed and ſixteen wounded by receiving the firſt fire of twenty-three of their ſhips. The Britiſh as they came up, ranged ſlowly along the French line, and cloſe under their lee. Being ſo near every ſhot took effect; and the French ſhips being ſo full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. The Formidable, adm. Rodney's ſhip, fired near eighty broadſides, and it may be thought ſhe was not ſingular. The French ſtood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmoſt firmneſs. Each ſide April 12.

1782. fought, as if the honor and fate of their country were ſtaked on the iſſue of the day.

Between twelve and one Sir G. Rodney in the Formidable, with his ſeconds the Namur and the Duke, and immediately ſupported by the Canada, bore directly and with full ſail athwart the French line, and ſucceſsfully broke through, about three ſhips ſhort of the centre, where count de Graſſe commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being followed and ſupported by the remainder of his diviſion, and wearing round cloſe upon the enemy, he effectually ſeparated their line. This bold puſh proved deciſive. The French however continued to fight with the utmoſt bravery, and the battle laſted till ſun-ſet.

The moment that Rodney wore, he threw out a ſignal for the van to tack. Drake inſtantly complied; and thus the Britiſh fleet gained the wind of the French, and completed their general confuſion. Their van endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the line, but with no ſucceſs; and their rear was ſo entirely routed, that no hope remained of recovering its order. Hood's diviſion had been long becalmed and kept out of action; but his leading ſhips and part of his centre, as far at leaſt as the Barfleur which he commanded himſelf, came up at this juncture, and ſerved to render the victory more deciſive on the one ſide, and the ruin greater on the other, while each afforded inſtances of the utmoſt courage.

Captain Inglefield, in the Centaur of 74 guns, came up from the rear to the attack of the Cæſar of 74 alſo. Both ſhips were freſh and fought bravely: but when the French captain had evidently by far the worſt of the combat, he diſdained yielding. Three other ſhips

ſhips came up ſucceſſively; and he bore to be torn 1782.
almoſt to pieces by their fire. His fortitude was inflexible. His enſign ſtaff being ſhot away, he ordered his colours to be nailed to the maſt; and his death only could end the conteſt. When the Cæſar ſtruck, the maſt went overboard and there was not a foot of canvaſs without a ſhot hole. The captain of the Glorieux did not yield till all his maſts were ſhot away, and the ſhip was unable to make any defence. Captain Cornwallis in the Canada of 74 guns vanquiſhed the French Hector of the ſame force; but inſtead of taking poſſeſſion of her, left her to be pickt up by a frigate, and puſhed on to the Ville de Paris.

Count de Graſſe was nobly ſupported, even after the line was broken; and until the diſorder and confuſion became irreparable toward the evening. His two ſeconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly diſtinguiſhed: the former narrowly eſcaped being taken, in her laſt efforts to extricate him. The Diadem, a French 74, went down by a ſingle broadſide, in a generous exertion to ſave him. His ſhip, the Ville de Paris, after being already much battered, was cloſely laid athwart by the Canada, and in a deſperate action of near two hours was reduced almoſt to a wreck. De Graſſe appeared to prefer ſinking, rather than ſtrike to any thing under a flag: he might however conſider the fatal effects which the ſtriking of his flag would produce in the reſt of the fleet. Other ſhips came up in the heel of the action with the Canada; but he ſtill held out. At length Hood in the Barfleur approached him juſt at ſun-ſet, and poured in a moſt deſtructive fire. The count however wiſhing to ſignalize as much

1782. as poſſible, the loſs of ſo fine and favorite a ſhip, endured the repetition of it for about a quarter of an hour longer, when he ſtruck his flag to the Barfleur, and ſurrendered himſelf to Sir Samuel Hood. It is ſaid, that at the time there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the count was one of the three.

The Cæſar was unfortunately ſet on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. A lieutenant and 50 Britiſh ſeamen periſhed with about 400 priſoners. The Ardent of 64 guns, taken from the Britiſh by D'Orvilliers in the channel, was now retaken.

The advantage of cloſe fighting with Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen was never more happily exemplified. The number of the French ſlain in this engagement, and that of the ninth, is computed at 3000; of the wounded at near double. The computation is the more probable as upward of 400 were killed on board the Ville de Paris, and between 2 and 300 in ſeveral French ſhips ſingly. The French fleet in general was little leſs than ruined. The ſmall ſuperiority of Britiſh ſhips in point of number contributed nothing to the ſucceſs of the day, as more of Hood's diviſion than that difference amounted to, were prevented coming into action through the want of wind. The whole loſs of the Britiſh, killed and wounded in the two actions, is ſtated only at 1050, of which 253 were killed on the ſpot. Capt. Blair of the Anſon, who had the year before diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action under adm. Hyde Parker, was ſlain. The loſs of lord Robert Manners, ſon of the late marquis of Granby, and brother to the duke of Rutland, was univerſally lamented. He had performed many brilliant

brilliant actions during the war, in the Reſolution of 74 guns. He was grievouſly wounded; and was carried off by a locked jaw a few days after the action, on his paſſage to Great Britain. 1782.

Thirty-ſix cheſts of money, deſtined to the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops in the deſigned attack on Jamaica, were found in the Ville de Paris. This ſhip had been a preſent from the city of Paris to Lewis XV. in that fallen ſtate of the French marine, which prevailed toward the cloſe of the former war. No pains or expence were ſpared, to render the gift worthy of that city and of the monarch to whom it was preſented. Her building and fitting for ſea is ſaid to have coſt 176,000l. ſterling. It was ſingularly providential, that the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, meant for the expedition againſt Jamaica, were on board the ſhips now taken.

Sir George Rodney brought to for the night: while the French ſhips which eſcaped, made off to leeward with the utmoſt diſpatch, and were out of ſight in the morning. Some ran down to the Dutch iſland of Curaçoa. But the greater part under Meſſrs. de Bougainville and de Vaudreuil, kept together and made the beſt of their way to Cape Francois. Sir George attempted to purſue them the next morning; but the fleet was becalmed under Guadaloupe for three days ſucceſſively after the battle, which gave the French the moſt favorable opportunity of eſcaping. After Sir George was ſatisfied, that they were gone to leeward, he diſpatched Sir Samuel Hood, whoſe diviſion had ſuffered little, to the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, in hope that he might pick up ſome of their diſabled ſhips. He himſelf followed

1782. with the reſt of the fleet, to rejoin Sir Samuel off Cape Tiberoon.

Sir Samuel proceeded with ſuch diſpatch, that on the day after his departure, he deſcried five ſail of French veſſels between Porto Rico and Hiſpaniola. A general chaſe immediately enſued, and continued ſeveral hours, when the Valiant and the Magnificent of 74 guns each, came up with, and after a ſhort engagement took the Jaſon and Caton of 64 guns each, with two frigates: a third eſcaped by a ſudden ſhift of wind.

April 19.

Thus the French loſt eight ſhips of the line: ſix were in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh, one had been ſunk, and the Cæſar blown up after her capture. Four others got into Curaçoa, and the French commanders were for weeks totally ignorant of their fate: ſo that no leſs than twelve ſail of the line were miſſing. Count de Graſſe conſidering the extreme importance of the ſervice in which he was employed, ſhould have hazarded a temporary cenſure rather than have ventured the moſt diſtant riſk of the whole expedition. Had he ſubmitted to the loſs of the ſhip which fell to leeward, inſtead of bearing down to her aſſiſtance, the Britiſh could not have prevented his joining Don Solano; and the reduction of Jamaica would have been next to inevitable. That event muſt have exalted his prudence, and have ſtifled every reflection that had been pointed againſt his character.

The Britiſh having joined off Cape Tiberoon, and the French having no force to the windward, Sir George Rodney proceeded with the diſabled ſhips and the prizes to Jamaica, as well for their repair, as the greater ſecurity of the iſland, ſhould the combined fleet ſtill venture upon

upon the proſecution of their former deſign. Sir S. Hood was left with about 25 ſhips of the line, to keep the ſea and watch the motions of the enemy. 1782.

When the news of adm. Rodney's victory reached Great Britain, the joy it occaſioned was exceſſive, and not without reaſon. Before there was much deſpondency. It produced a ſudden and unexpected change in the ſituation of the Britiſh; and, at an inſtant when they ſeemed to be nearly overwhelmed as well as ſurrounded by numerous and powerful enemies, gave them an additional weight as a nation, either for the accompliſhment of peace, or the further proſecution of the war. The admiral was created an Engliſh peer on the 19th of June, by the title of lord Rodney.

Upon the return of adm. Barrington's ſquadron, adm. Kempenfelt ſailed with 8 or 9 ſhips of the line to ſupply their place in the Bay; and upon intelligence being received, that the Dutch were preparing to come out of the Texel, lord Howe proceeded with a ſquadron of about a dozen ſhips of the line to the coaſts of Holland. The Dutch fleet had ſailed, but information of Howe's movement induced them to return to the Texel. After cruiſing near a month on the Dutch coaſt, Howe's ſquadron growing very ſickly, and the Dutch ſhowing no diſpoſition to venture out, his lordſhip returned to Portſmouth, where being joined by the ſhips from the Bay, every diſpatch was uſed in preparing the fleet to oppoſe the deſigns of the combined enemy, who were ſoon expected at the mouth of the channel. May 6.

Count de Guichen had been for ſome time at Cadiz, from whence he and Don Cordova, with about 25 French and Spaniſh ſhips of the line, ſailed in the be-

1782. ginning of June. In their progreſs to the northward, and while expecting to be joined by the ſquadrons from Breſt and other ports, they fell in with the Britiſh outward bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, under convoy of a 50 gun ſhip and ſome frigates. Eighteen of the convoy, laden chiefly with proviſions, were taken; the ſhips of war with the remainder eſcaped.

June 25.

The combined fleets being entire maſters of the ſea, from the mouth of the Straits to Uſhant, were able to diſpatch their outward bound convoys, and to receive their homeward with the utmoſt ſafety; while the Britiſh were under no ſmall apprehenſion for a rich and great convoy from Jamaica under Sir Peter Parker, with only three ſhips of the line for its protection. Lord Howe ſailed from Portſmouth early in July, accompanied with adms. Barrington, Sir J. L. Roſs, and Kempenfelt. Theſe diſtinguiſhed commanders had however only 22 ſhips of the line to ſupport their deſigns, while the combined fleets were cruiſing about the chops of the channel, with more than double their force. Lord Howe kept to the weſtward of the enemy, in order to protect and receive the Jamaica fleet, and at the ſame time to avoid being forced into an engagement. By the end of July, Sir Peter Parker arrived ſafe with his convoy, bringing count de Graſſe with him in the Sandwich of 90 guns. The count landed at Portſmouth on the 31ſt, amid the acclamations of a great concourſe of people, who in that way expreſſed their approbation of his bravery. On the 14th of Auguſt, lord Howe with part of the fleet arrived at the ſame port.

July

31.

The protection of the homeward bound Baltic fleet, the preventing of the Dutch from ſailing to the ſouthward,

ward, and the relief of Gibraltar, were the grand naval 1782.
objects that the Britiſh adminiſtration had ſtill in view: each was of high importance. Several of thoſe ſhips, that were in the beſt condition for ſea, proceeded to the Downs to attend the motions of the Dutch; while the reſt of the fleet were in a haſty ſtate of equipment at Portſmouth, and were repleniſhing their ſtores for the deſigned expedition to Gibraltar. It was found neceſſary that the Royal George of 108 guns, commanded by adm. Kempenfelt, ſhould receive a kind of ſlight careen, and be laid in a certain degree upon her ſide, while the defects under water occaſioning the examination were rectified. This operation in ſtill weather and ſmooth water is attended with ſo little difficulty or danger, that the admiral, captains, officers and crew, continued on board; and neither guns, ſtores, water or proviſions, were removed.

The buſineſs was undertaken early in the morning, a Aug.
gang of carpenters from the dock attending for the pur- 29.
poſe. The ſhip while on her ſide was crowded with people from the ſhore, particularly women, thought to be not fewer than 300, among whom were many of the wives and children of the ſeamen and petty officers, who were come to ſee their huſbands and fathers. The greateſt part of the crew was alſo on board. In this ſituation, about ten in the morning, the admiral being writing in his cabin, and moſt of the people happening then to be between decks, a ſudden and unexpected ſquall of wind threw the ſhip on her ſide, and the gun-ports being open, ſhe filled with water almoſt inſtantly, and went to the bottom. A victualler along ſide of her

was

1782. was ſwallowed up in the whirlpool, occaſioned by the plunge of ſo vaſt a body in the water.

The admiral, with a number of officers, and moſt of thoſe between decks periſhed. The guard, and thoſe who happened to be along with them on the upper deck, were in general ſaved by the boats of the fleet. About 70 more were likewiſe ſaved. It is thought that from 900 to 1000 perſons were loſt. About 300, moſtly of the ſhips company, were ſaved. Capt. Waghorne, whoſe bravery in the North Sea under admiral Parker procured him the command of the ſhip, was ſaved, though ſeverely bruiſed.

The loſs of the ſhip, though the period is critical, is not to compare with the loſs of the brave men who periſhed in her. Adm. Kempenfelt, though near 70 years of age, is peculiarly and univerſally lamented by the Britiſh. In point of profeſſional knowledge and judgment, he was deemed one of the firſt naval officers in the world; and in the art of manœuvring a fleet, he was conſidered by their greateſt commanders as unrivalled.

A letter from Sir Eyre Coote, dated Fort George, Jan. 28, 1782, was received at lord Shelburne's office, June the 4th. It relates, that after the action on the 1ſt of July, 1781, Sir Eyre marched to the northward to form a junction with the Bengal detachment. It was effected on the 3d of Auguſt. On the 27th, Sir Eyre attacked Hyder Ally poſted with his army in a formidable ſituation. The conflict laſted from nine in the morning till near ſun-ſet, when Sir Eyre was left in full poſſeſſion of the field of battle. His loſs on this occaſion

ſion was heavier than on the 1ſt of July, and that of the 1782.
enemy leſs. On the 27th of September, the two armies engaged again before four o'clock in the afternoon, and by the evening Hyder was completely routed. When Sir Eyre was upon his return from relieving the garriſon at Vellore, Hyder appeared in full force on the 13th of January, and by a diſtant cannonade attacked his army while croſſing a marſhy ground. The whole having paſſed the ſwamp, the line was formed and advanced upon the enemy, on which Hyder gave way, and retreated with precipitation. The London gazette of July 13th, confirmed the account before received of the ſurrender of the Bahama iſlands to the arms of Spain, on the 8th of May, by capitulation. The ſame day advices were received from capt. Shirley of the Leander, of his having deſtroyed a French ſtore ſhip off Senegal, valued at 30,000l. and of his taking five Dutch forts, mounting together 124 guns, on the coaſt of Africa, without any other aſſiſtance than the men belonging to his own ſhip. Toward the cloſe of July, the Engliſh Eaſt India Company received from Bombay, advice of Tippoo Saib's having attacked col. Braithwaite on the 16th of February, and obliged him to ſurrender with all his force two days after; and of the French fleet's conſiſting of 22 ſail, large and ſmall, on the 19th of February, in Pondicherry road. Tippoo Saib's ſucceſs has occaſioned to the Engliſh in that quarter, the loſs of 2000 infantry and 300 cavalry.

The precarious ſtate of affairs in the Eaſt Indies muſt be a motive with the Britiſh miniſtry to aim at a ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of peace. As the negotiations for it are carrying

1782. carrying on and likely to be continued, my next letter will be from Paris.

LETTER X.

Roxbury, Jan. 30, 1783.

THE buſineſs of retaliating the execution of captain Huddy ſhall begin the preſent letter. General Waſhington having made up his mind on the ſubject, wrote to brigadier Hazen at Lancaſter in Pennſylvania, on the 3d of May—" You will immediately, on the receipt of this, deſignate by lot for the above purpoſe [of retaliation] a Britiſh captain who is an *unconditional* priſoner, if ſuch an one is in your poſſeſſion; if not, a lieutenant under the ſame circumſtances, from among the priſoners at any of the poſts either in Pennſylvania or Maryland. So ſoon as you have fixed on the perſon, you will ſend him under a ſafe guard to Philadelphia. I need not mention to you that every poſſible tenderneſs, that is conſiſtent with the ſecurity of him, ſhould be ſhown to the perſon whoſe unfortunate lot it may be to ſuffer." He received about the ſame time from gen. Robertſon a letter of May 1, acquainting him, that a court-martial was appointed by Sir H. Clinton for trying the perſon complained of and all his abettors in the death of Huddy, and that Sir Henry had taken meaſures

May 3.

ſures for it before he received any letter from gen. Waſh- 1782.
ington on the ſubject. Robertſon expreſſed his wiſh, that the war might be carried on agreeable to the rules which humanity has formed, and the examples of the politeſt nations recommended; and propoſed that they ſhould agree to prevent or puniſh every breach of the rules of war within the ſpheres of their reſpective commands. The letter was accompanied with a number of papers, ſtating many acts of barbarity committed by the Americans; and which had been put into his hands as vindications of the enormity complained of by Waſhington. Robertſon meant to prevail upon the latter to deſiſt from his purpoſe. Waſhington however, in his anſwer of May 5, ſaid—"So far from receding from that reſolution, orders are given to deſignate a Britiſh officer for retaliation. But I ſtill hope the reſult of your court-martial will prevent this dreadful alternative." After ſincerely lamenting the cruel neceſſity, which alone could induce ſo diſtreſſing a meaſure in the preſent inſtance, he aſſured the other that he entertained his wiſh and acceded to his propoſal. But to ſome parts of Robertſon's letter he could not refrain from anſwering—"Recrimination would be uſeleſs; I forbear therefore to mention numerous inſtances which have ſtained the reputation of your arms, marked the progreſs of this war with unuſual ſeverity, and diſgraced the honor of human nature itſelf." When Waſhington was informed that capt. Aſgill [a youth of nineteen] had been deſignated and ſent forward, he wrote to Hazen on the 4th of June—"I June 4.
am much concerned to find that capt. Aſgill has been ſent on, notwithſtanding the information you had received of there being two *unconditional* priſoners of war in

1782. in our poſſeſſion. To remedy therefore as ſoon as poſſible this miſtake, you will be pleaſed immediately to order, that lieut. Tumer, the officer you mention to be confined in York jail, or any other priſoner who falls within my deſcription, may be conveyed to Philadelphia, under the ſame regulations and directions as were heretofore given, that he may take the place of capt. Aſgill." The ſame day he ordered col. Dayton of the Jerſey line to permit capt. Ludlow, Aſgill's friend, to go into New York with ſuch repreſentation as Aſgill would pleaſe to make to Sir Guy Carleton; and begged of him in the mean time to treat Aſgill with every tender attention and politeneſs (conſiſtent with his preſent ſituation) which his rank, fortune and connections, together with his unfortunate ſtate demanded. In a ſubſequent letter to the colonel he ſaid—"I wiſh to have the young gentleman treated with all the tenderneſs poſſible, conſiſtent with his preſent ſituation;" and after that—"I am very willing, and indeed wiſh every indulgence to be granted him that is not inconſiſtent with his perfect ſecurity." Capt. Aſgill writing to gen. Waſhington, thus expreſſed himſelf—"In conſequence of your orders, col. Dayton was deſirous of removing me to camp, but being ill of a fever, I prevailed on him to let me remain at his quarters [Chatham] cloſe confined, which indulgence I hope will not be diſapproved of. I cannot conclude this letter without expreſſing my gratitude to your excellency for ordering col. Dayton to favor me as much as my ſituation would admit of, and in juſtice to him I muſt acknowledge the feeling and attentive manner in which thoſe commands were executed." You may inquire, why was not Tumer, or ſome other officer,

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ſent on to take the place of Aſgill? It is not in my power to anſwer. 1782.

Mean while the Britiſh court-martial proceeded on the trial of capt. Richard Lippincot, thought to be the principal in executing capt. Huddy. When it was finiſhed, the proceedings of the court were ſent to gen. Waſhington by Sir Guy Carleton. It appeared in the courſe of the trial, that gov. Franklin, the preſident of the board of aſſociated loyaliſts, gave Lippincot *verbal* orders for what he did, and that the ſame were known and agreed to by ſeveral of the board, without being expreſsly oppoſed by any. The board ſeemed deſirous of exculpating themſelves wholly, and of leaving Lippincot to his fate. A paper was produced in court as being in the hand writing of Mr. Alexander, a member of the board. It mentioned that one of their aſſociates, Philip White, was inhumanly and wantonly murdered by the guard who were carrying him to Monmouth jail. It complained of many daring acts of cruelty, perpetrated with impunity by a ſet of vindictive rebels, known by the deſignation of *Monmouth retaliators*, aſſociated and headed by one general Forman, whoſe horrid acts of cruelty gained him univerſally the name of *Black David*. It ſet forth, that many of their friends and neighbours were butchered in cold blood under the uſurped form of law, and often without that ceremony, for no other crime than that of maintaining their allegiance to the government under which they were born, audaciouſly called by the rebels treaſon againſt their ſtates; and that their aſſociators thought it high time to begin a retaliation: that they therefore pitched upon Joſhua Huddy as a proper ſubject, he having been a very active and cruel

1782. cruel perſecutor of their friends, and having boaſted of being inſtrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, the firſt of their brethren who fell a martyr to republican fury in Monmouth county. Huddy, it aſſerted, tied the knot and put the rope about the neck of that inoffenſive ſufferer. The plea urged by the parties, who defended the execution of Huddy, was—" By a ſtrange fatality the loyaliſts are the only people that have been treated as rebels during the unhappy war, and we are conſtrained by our ſufferings to declare, that no efforts have been made by the government, under whoſe protection we wiſh to live, to ſave our brethren from ignominious deaths. The rebels puniſh the loyaliſts, under their uſual diſtinction of priſoners of ſtate from priſoners of war."

When the buſineſs had been fully and impartially heard and diſcuſſed, it was finiſhed by the following declaration—" The court having conſidered the evidence for and againſt the captain, and it appearing that (although Joſhua Huddy was executed without proper authority) what the priſoner did, was not the effect of malice or ill will, but proceeded from a conviction, that it was his duty to obey the orders of the board of directors of aſſociated loyaliſts, and his not doubting their having full authority to give ſuch orders, the court is of opinion that he is *not guilty* of the murder laid to his charge, and therefore acquit him."

Sir Guy Carleton, in a letter which accompanied the trial of capt. Lippincot, declared in unequivocal terms to gen. Waſhington, that notwithſtanding the acquittal of the captain, he reprobated the meaſure, and gave aſſurances of proſecuting a further inquiry. This changed

the ground the general was proceeding upon, and placed 1782.
the matter upon an extremely delicate footing. Sir Guy charged him with want of humanity in ſelecting a victim from among the Britiſh officers, *ſo early as he did.* But Sir Guy ſhould have conſidered, that by the uſages of war, and upon the principles of retaliation, the general would have been juſtified in executing an officer of equal rank with capt. Huddy immediately upon receiving proofs of his murder, and then informing Sir Henry Clinton he had done ſo. The ground which the general was proceeding upon being changed, he by a letter Aug.
of the 19th of Auguſt laid the whole matter before 19.
congreſs for their direction. The affair being put into this train, the general ſent word to col. Dayton on the 25th, "You will leave capt. Aſgill on parole at Morriſtown, until further orders." The captain was admitted to his parole even within ten or twelve miles of the Britiſh lines. He was indulged with a confidence yet more unlimited, by being permitted, for the benefit of his health, and the recreation of his mind, to ride not only about the American cantonment, but into the ſurrounding country, for ſeveral miles, with his friend and companion, major Gordon, conſtantly attending him. Every military character muſt ſuppoſe that theſe indulgences flowed from the American commander in chief: which was the real caſe, and is not to be aſcribed to the interference of count Rochambeau. Congreſs referred gen. Waſhington's letter and the proceedings of the Britiſh court martial upon Lippincot to a committee, who delivered in their report on the 17th of October. Ten days before, Waſhington wrote in a private letter to the Oct.
ſecretary at war—"The caſe of capt. Aſgill is now 7.
before congreſs. Was I to give my private opinion re-

1782. ſpecting Aſgill, I ſhould pronounce in favor of his being releaſed from his dureſſe; and that he ſhould be permitted to go to his friends in Europe." Congreſs delayed bringing the matter to an iſſue. At length the general received a letter from the count de Vergennes, dated the 29th of July, interceding for capt. Aſgill. It was accompanied with an uncommonly pathetic one from Mrs. Aſgill, the mother, to the count. Vergennes in the moſt polite, humane and powerful manner, pleaded her cauſe. "Your excellency (he ſaid) will not read this letter without being extremely affected: it had that effect upon the king and upon the queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodneſs of their majeſties hearts induces them to deſire, that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderneſs reaſſured.—There is one conſideration, Sir, which though not deciſive, may have an influence upon your reſolution. Capt. Aſgill is doubtleſs your priſoner, but he is among thoſe whom the arms of the king contributed to put into your hands at York Town. Although this circumſtance does not operate as a ſafeguard, it however juſtifies the intereſt I permit myſelf to take in this affair. —In ſeeking to deliver Mr. Aſgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to ſeek another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly ſatisfactory, muſt be entire." Waſhington ſent copies of the letters, with one of his own of the 25th of October, to congreſs. On the 7th of November, they "reſolved, That the commander in chief be and he is hereby directed to ſet capt. Aſgill at liberty." It afforded gen. Waſhington ſingular pleaſure to have it in his power to tranſmit a copy of this reſolve to the captain on the 13th; and as he ſuppoſed the latter would wiſh to go into New York

Oct. 25.

Nov. 13.

as

as ſoon as poſſible, he ſent with it a paſſport for that purpoſe. They were accompanied with a letter, which cloſed with—" I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without aſſuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleaſing affair may be viewed, I was never influenced, through the whole of it, by ſanguinary motives; but by what I conceived to be a ſenſe of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take meaſures, however diſagreeable, to prevent a repetition of thoſe enormities which have been the ſubject of diſcuſſion. And that this important end is likely to be anſwered without the effuſion of the blood of an innocent perſon, is not a greater relief to you than it is to, Sir, your moſt obedient, humble ſervant, George Waſhington." Though the treatment capt. Aſgill met with from the general, in the various indulgences that were granted him, merited an acknowledgment after his liberation, none was offered, and the captain is thought to have been deficient in politeneſs. 1782.

It was not long after Sir Guy Carleton's arrival, ere he broke up the board of aſſociated loyaliſts, and thereby precluded a repetition of the like enormity that had been practiſed on Huddy. He arrived on the 5th of May, on the 7th he wrote to gen. Waſhington, and ſent him ſome public papers, that his excellency might learn from them, the diſpoſitions that prevailed in the government and people of Great Britain relative to the making of a peace with the Americans. How neceſſary this is for the United States, the following extracts, from the public and private letters of gentlemen of the firſt eminence, will convince you.—" May 19. Our army is perfectly naked, without pay or rum. The greateſt deciſion and ſeverity, has been uſed to prevent the conſequences of a mutinous diſpoſition which generally per- May 7. 19.

1782. vaded the troops. Its appearances are removed, but I know of no expedient that will ſecure the exiſtence of this [the ſouthern] army, unleſs ſupplies arrive ſoon
May from Philadelphia. *N. Greene.*"—" Fiſh-kill, May 25.
25. Yeſterday was the third day our army [under Waſhington] has been without proviſion. Every department is without money and without credit. The army could not make a march of one day, as they are without every neceſſary as well as proviſions. Officers and ſoldiers are exceedingly diſcontented. You have doubtleſs heard of the premeditated revolt of the Connecticut line, happily diſcovered the day previous to that in which it was to have been put in execution. The ringleader was puniſhed with death. Wherever I go I hear complaints which make me dread the moſt fatal conſequences. The diſtreſſes of our army have arrived to the greateſt poſ-
28. ſible degree. *Steuben.*"—" May 28. I am under anxiety from the want of the neceſſary depoſits of proviſions in the garriſon of Weſt Point. This is an alarming circumſtance. Were the enemy to know our ſituation, and make a ſudden attempt, what is there to ſave theſe
Aug. important poſts? *G. Waſhington.*"—" Aug. 13. For up-
13. ward of two months, more than one third of our men [of the ſouthern army] were entirely naked, with nothing but a breech-cloth about them, and never came out of their tents; and the reſt were as ragged as wolves. Our condition was little better in the article of proviſion. Our beef was perfect carrion; and even bad as it was, we were frequently without any. An army thus clothed and thus fed, may be conſidered in a deſperate ſituation. However, we have ſtruggled through it. Our ſupplies of proviſion are better, but ſcanty and uncertain. Some clothing is arrived, and added to what the gover-

governor procured, renders the troops pretty comfort- 1782.
able; and the army very contented and eaſy, eſpecially as we have it now in our power to iſſue rum eight times a month. North Carolina hath had few other ſoldiers, than non-jurors and diſaffected, and thoſe for different terms of ſervice. *N. Greene.*"—[Mr. Joſhua Lockwood, under the direction of gov. Mathews, brought out of Charleſtown a large quantity of the articles which were moſt needed in the camp. They were furniſhed by ſome of the inhabitants, who wiſhed to make their peace with their countrymen.]—" Sept. 22. When I found Sept. the ſupplies of money from the ſtates would prove ſo 22. inadequate, I determined to check all other expences, and to think only of feeding the army. We have lately had an arrival of linens which the clothier ſays are ſufficient to make thirty thouſand ſhirts; but he is ſo indebted to the poor people who have worked for him, and who are ſtarving for want of their wages, that he cannot procure credit to get them made. Money I have none. And could he run in debt ſtill further, it would only increaſe the miſchief, for I ſee no proſpect of payment. *R. Morris.*"—" Oct. 2. Only conceive the Oct. mortification, that even the general officers are under, 2. when they cannot invite a French officer, a viſiting friend, a travelling acquaintance, to a better repaſt, than ſtinking whiſky, (hot from the ſtill) and not always that, and a bit of beef without vegetables, will afford them. I could give anecdotes of patriotiſm and diſtreſs which have ſcarcely ever been paralleled, never ſurpaſſed in the hiſtory of mankind: but you may rely upon it; the patience and long ſufferance of this [the northern] army are almoſt exhauſted, and that there never was ſo great a ſpirit of diſcontent as at this inſtant. It is high time for a

1782. peace. Our troops have been, and ſtill are obliged to perform ſervices foreign to their proper duty, without gratuity or reward, more than the ſoldiers of any other army—for example, the immenſe labors expended in doing the duties of artificers, in erecting fortifications and military works; the fatigue of building themſelves barracks and huts annually; and cutting and tranſporting wood for the uſe of all our poſts and garriſons, without any expence whatever to the public. *G. Waſhington.*" —"Oct. 17. We were upon the point of trying our hands at how we could live without ſubſiſtence, as the ſuperintendent was no longer able to fulfil his contract with the victuallers of the [northern] army, and as they relinquiſhed it; till fortunately for us, we met with gentlemen, who for an advanced price per ration, have ſaved us from *ſtarvation* or *diſbandment* by giving a credit."—"Oct. 24. For want of money we have been obliged to relinquiſh a contract for ſubſiſting the army at ten-pence a ration, and give thirteen-pence for the ſake of three months credit." Even in July the demand for money was ſo great as to raiſe intereſt to five per cent. per month.

Aug. 2. On the 2d of Auguſt, Sir Guy Carleton and adm. Digby, ſent out a joint letter to gen. Waſhington, wherein they ſaid—"We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and is now at Paris in the execution of this commiſſion.—With reſpect to Mr. Laurens, we are to acquaint you, that he has been enlarged and diſcharged from all engagements without any condition whatever; after which he declared of his own accord, that he conſidered

ſidered lord Cornwallis as free from his parole. We are 1782.
further acquainted, that tranſports have been prepared in England, for conveying all the American priſoners to this country to be exchanged here; and we are directed to urge by every conſideration of humanity, the moſt ſpeedy exchange." When this news was known by the loyaliſts, ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs raged through the city of New York, as is not eaſily deſcribed. Thoſe in the army tore the lappels from their coats, ſtamped them under their feet, and exclaimed that they were ruined for ever. Others cried out, that they had ſacrificed every thing to prove their loyalty, and were now left to ſhift for themſelves, loſt both to the friendſhip of their king and country. On the 7th, it was earneſtly recommended in the New York paper to the loyaliſts every where, to ſuſpend their opinion on the preſent important occaſion, and each to continue firm to the profeſſions he had made of loyalty and zeal for the reunion of the empire, and to wait the iſſue. By ſuch a conduct it was obſerved, they would preſerve a claim to national regard and protection, which it would be madneſs to forfeit; ſince by giving way to the ſuggeſtions of impatience they could only diſgrace themſelves in the eyes of their enemies, without a ſhadow of advantage.

A part of the news was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of two cartel ſhips at Marblehead, with 583 Americans. By the 21ſt of the month a third arrived with 116 more. Your friend embraced the opportunity of talking with ſeveral as they paſſed by his houſe. The ſubſtance of what they related, follows. From the beginning of the war till they left Forton priſon at Goſport, near upon 1400 had been committed, out of the whole

1782. only 120 died, and of theſe more by the ſmall-pox than any other diſorder. Before gen. Burgoyne was taken, perſons were not allowed to viſit or relieve them. After that event the treatment was different, and former ſeverities were mitigated. When ſick they were taken exceeding good care of; and had Americans employed to nurſe them. Had not agents, clerks, &c. deducted from the king's allowance, they ſhould have done pretty well: though having no more than criminals allowance of proviſion, they had a very ſcanty ſupport, beſide which the proviſion was often exceeding bad. When the change of miniſtry took place, they were conſidered as priſoners of war, and had an allowance accordingly. They mentioned, that before they were ſent off, the duke of Richmond, gen. Conway, and ſome other gentlemen viſited them, expreſſed a concern for their ſufferings, ſhowed them much kindneſs, gave them money, very condeſcendingly ſhook hands with them and ſaid they were brethren. They related that the Rev. Mr. Wren of Portſmouth was extremely kind to them; was like a father; procured them clothes, money, and many articles to help them under their confinement; and frequently viſited and prayed with the ſick. Mr. Laurens viſited them; encouraged them to remain firm to their country's cauſe; and told them how he had ſuffered under his confinement. One of them who had been a priſoner at New York, to expreſs the difference between the places, declared that he had rather be impriſoned months in England than weeks at New York. They ſtated the number of perſons who came away upon the exchange at 303, the reſt having made heir eſcape at different periods.

A few acts of congreſs ſhall be now related.

On

On the 13th of May, the miniſter of France was admitted to a public audience, and after addreſſing congreſs in a ſpeech, delivered to them a letter from his moſt chriſtian majeſty, informing them of the birth of his ſon the dauphin. A ſuitable anſwer was given to the chevalier de la Luzerne. They then ordered a letter to be written to the commander in chief, and to the commander in the ſouthern department, informing them of the ſaid event, and directed that it ſhould be publiſhed in both armies with proper demonſtrations of joy. The ſecretary for foreign affairs was alſo to inform the governors and preſidents of the reſpective ſtates, that the people of each ſtate might partake in the joy. When the miniſter had withdrawn, the birth of the dauphin was announced to the public by a diſcharge of cannon and a feu de joie of muſketry. In the afternoon a dinner was provided by congreſs for the chevalier and his ſuit; and the evening was cloſed with a brilliant diſplay of fire works in the ſtate houſe yard. The official notification of the dauphin's birth was received in all places of the United States, with every mark of joy and token of reſpect to their great and generous ally, and to the French nation. 1782. May 13.

On the 20th of June it was concluded, that the device for an armorial atchievement and reverſe of the great ſeal for the United States in congreſs aſſembled ſhould be as follows—ARMS—Paleways of thirteen pieces, argent and gules; a chief, azure; the eſcutcheon on the breaſt of the American eagle diſplayed, proper, holding in his dexter talon an olive branch, and in his ſiniſter a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a ſcroll inſcribed with this motto "E pluribus Unum."—For the CREST—Over the head of the eagle, which June 20.

1782. appears above the eſcutcheon, a glory, Or, breaking through a cloud, proper, and ſurrounding thirteen ſtars forming a conſtellation, argent, on an azure field.—REVERSE—A pyramid unfiniſhed. In the zenith an eye in a triangle, ſurrounded with a glory, proper. Over the eye theſe words "Annuit Cæptis." On the baſe of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI. And underneath the following motto "Novus Ordo Seclorum."

Sept. 14. They reſolved that the ſum of four millions of dollars, excluſive of the money which Mr. Adams may obtain by the loan now negotiating in Holland, be borrowed in Europe on the faith of the United States. Nine days after, they reſolved, that Dr. Franklin ſhould be informed, that notwithſtanding the contents of his letters of the 25th of June, it is the direction of congreſs, that he uſe his utmoſt endeavours to effect the aforeſaid loan.

Oct. 4. On the 4th of October, they reſolved unanimouſly, that they would inviolably adhere to the treaty of alliance with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and conclude neither a ſeparate peace nor truce with Great Britain; nor enter into the diſcuſſion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

We paſs on to the ſouthward as far as Georgia, with ſome account of which my laſt letter cloſed.

The Britiſh garriſon at Savannah conſiſted of about 1000 regulars, beſide a conſiderable number of militia, and was under the command of brigadier Clarke. This ſuperiority of force did not prevent gen. Wayne's appearing often before the Britiſh lines and inſulting their picquets. Three different attempts were made to ſurpriſe

priſe an advanced party of the Americans without ſuc- 1782.
ceeding. About the ſame time the American governor with his council removed from Auguſta to Ebenezer. Soon after his arrival he iſſued a proclamation, offering to every Britiſh or Heſſian ſoldier, who ſhould deſert from Savannah, 200 acres of land and ſome ſtock; which had the deſired effect in a certain degree.

On the 21ſt of May, col. Brown, at the head of a May
conſiderable party, marched out of the garriſon of Sa- 21.
vannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got between Brown and the garriſon, attacked him at twelve o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. The van-guard of the Americans, conſiſting of 60 horſe and 40 infantry, was led on, by col. White of the cavalry, and capt. Parker of the infantry, to a ſpirited charge; in which 40 of Brown's men were killed or wounded, about 20 taken priſoners, and the remainder obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the ſwamps under cover of the night. The advantage was gained by the liberal uſe of the ſword and bayonet. Orders had been previouſly given to depend entirely on theſe weapons; and to ſecure a punctual compliance, the flints were taken out of the muſketry of the infantry. The Americans had only five privates killed and two wounded. Though Brown proved unſucceſsful, yet gen. Greene reckons him one of the beſt officers belonging to the Britiſh troops.

On the 24th of June, a large body of Creek Indians, June
headed by a number of their moſt celebrated chiefs and 24.
warriors, and a Britiſh officer, ſurpriſed and made a furious attack upon Wayne's infantry at half an hour after one in the morning. For a few minutes they poſſeſſed themſelves of his two field pieces, which were ſoon recovered.

1782. covered. The Indians knew not how to make a right improvement of the advantages they had obtained by the ſurpriſe. Mean while the cavalry arrived and preſſed hard upon them; while Wayne expoſed himſelf, beyond what was prudent for the chief commander, that he might reinſtate matters. A ſmart action enſued, in which both ſides fought in cloſe quarters with ſwords and bayonets. The Indians diſplayed uncommon bravery; but having to contend with both horſe and foot were completely routed. Fourteen of their number were killed, one of whom was a famous chief. The Americans had five ſlain and eight wounded.

The Britiſh adminiſtration having reſolved upon abandoning all offenſive operations in America, the ſcheme of evacuating the weaker poſts in the United States was adopted; and that at Savannah was to be the firſt. When the meaſure was determined upon, the merchants and others, inhabitants of the place, obtained permiſſion to apply to Wayne for the ſecurity and preſervation of their perſons and property. He replied to their deputies, "that ſhould the Britiſh garriſon eventually effect an evacuation, the perſons and properties of ſuch inhabitants or others, who chooſe to remain in Savannah, will be protected by the military, and reſigned inviolate into the hands of the civil authority, which muſt ultimately decide." The merchants and inhabitants of Savannah, having ſent out a ſecond flag, Wayne at the deſire of the civil authority of the ſtate, ſent them for anſwer, "that the merchants, not owing allegiance to the United States, will be permitted to remain a reaſonable time to diſpoſe of their goods and ſettle their affairs." Major Haberſham, who was charged with this meſſage, pledged himſelf that they might rely, with the utmoſt confi-

dence,

dence, on the terms propoſed to them. The congreſs 1782.
on the 30th of December ratified Wayne's agreement.
On the 11th of July Savannah was evacuated, and the July
Americans immediately took poſſeſſion of it. The 11.
works and town were left perfect; for which the inhabitants are indebted to that worthy and humane officer brigadier general Clarke.

General Leſlie, under the ſanction of the reſolution taken by the Britiſh adminiſtration, propoſed to gen. Greene a ceſſation of hoſtilities, which was declined by the latter for want of inſtructions from congreſs on the ſubject. However nothing of conſequence was attempted on either ſide. When the evacuation of Charleſtown was propoſed, the merchants who came with the Britiſh were in a moſt diſagreeable predicament. They had entered into extenſive commercial engagements. Thoſe of their debtors, who were without the lines, were not ſubject to their juriſdiction; thoſe who were within, were unable to pay. Environed with difficulties, and threatened with bankruptcy ſhould they leave the ſtate along with the garriſon, they applied to gen. Leſlie for leave to negotiate for themſelves. A deputation of the body waited on gov. Mathews, and obtained from him permiſſion to reſide in South Carolina for eighteen months after the evacuation, with the full liberty of diſpoſing of their ſtock of goods on hand, and of collecting the debts already due to them. After general orders had announced the deſign of evacuating Charleſtown, Leſ- Aug.
lie wrote to Greene, offering full payment for rice and 13.
other proviſion to be ſent into the town: at the ſame time he threatened, that if it was not granted for money, it ſhould be taken by force without compenſation. But as it was apprehended the Britiſh meant to procure large ſup-

1782. ſupplies for the transfetring of the war to the French Weſt India iſlands, the Americans could not upon any conſideration aſſent to the advantageous offers of Leſlie. Every effort was made by Greene and Mathews to reſtrain the intercourſe between town and country on private account, though the wants of the American army made a ſmall deviation neceſſary. Leſlie finding it impoſſible to purchaſe, ſent out parties to ſeize proviſions near the different landings, and to bring them by water to Charleſtown. This was effected in ſome inſtances before the Americans could be collected in ſufficient force for the defence of their property; though a colonel (an American) in the Britiſh army had been for ſome months paſt employed, in ſending the earlieſt intelligence, from time to time, of all the military operations, which the Britiſh concerted to the prejudice of the United States, or any part thereof. He is to continue with the Britiſh army until the cloſe of the war. On his faithfully performing this ſecret ſervice, and as a reward for his treacherous duplicity, gen. Greene is to uſe all his influence with the ſtate of South Carolina, to reſtore him to his fortunes, and the rights and privileges of a citizen. Should the ſtate refuſe to reſtore him, the gegeral is to recommend his caſe to congreſs for ſuch compenſation as they may think his ſervices claim.

One of the largeſt parties ordered out was ſent to
Aug. Combahee ferry, where they arrived on the 25th of
25. Auguſt. Brigadier Giſt, with about 300 cavalry and infantry, of the continental army, was detached to oppoſe them. He ſucceeded ſo far as to capture one of their ſchooners, and in a degree to fruſtrate their deſigns. Lieut. col. Laurens, though he had been confined for ſeveral days immediately preceding, on hear-

ing of the expedition, roſe and followed Giſt. When 1781.
the Britiſh and American detachments approached within a few miles of each other, Laurens being in advance with a ſmall party of regulars and militia, engaged with a much ſuperior force, in expectation of ſupport from the main body in his rear. In the midſt of his brave exertions he received a mortal wound. "This young gentleman was ſent over to England for his education, where he endeared himſelf to all who knew him, by his abilities and affectionate temper. In the beginning of 1777, he joined the American army, and from that time was foremoſt in every danger. He was preſent and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every action of the army under gen. Waſhington, and was among the foremoſt that entered the Britiſh lines at York Town. Thoſe who were intimately acquainted with him, will rank his martial qualities, by which he was chiefly known, as loweſt in the catalogue of his virtues. They will lament the untimely loſs of a clear diſcerning mind, that united the ſolid powers of the underſtanding with inflexible integrity. In him, his country has loſt one of its nobleſt and moſt uſeful citizens; his father, the kindeſt and moſt affectionate friend; and all the wretched, a generous and diſintereſted patron *."

* This character is taken from an American publication. The American commander in chief being aſked whether it was juſt, anſwered—"Such parts of the drawing as have fallen under my own obſervations are literally ſo; and it is my firm belief his merits and worth richly entitle him to the whole picture. No man poſſeſſed more of the *Amor patriæ*. In a word, he had not a fault that I could diſcover, unleſs intrepidity, bordering upon raſhneſs, could come under that denomination. And this he was excited to by the pureſt motives."

When

1782. When the long expected evacuation of Charleſtown drew nigh, the inhabitants of the ſtate apprehended, that the Britiſh army, on its departure, would carry off with them ſome thouſands of negroes, who were within their lines. To prevent it gov. Mathews wrote to gen. Leſlie, Auguſt the 17th, and informed him, "that if the property of the citizens of South Carolina was carried off by the Britiſh army, he ſhould ſeize on the debts due to the Britiſh merchants, and to the confiſcated eſtates, and the claims on thoſe eſtates by marriage ſettlements, which three articles were not included in the confiſcation act." Gen. Leſlie propoſed a negotiation, for ſecuring the property of both parties. Commiſſioners were appointed in behalf both of the ſtate and
Oct. the royaliſts: who on the 10th of October ratified a
10. compact on the ſubject, of which the following was a principal article.—"All the ſlaves of the citizens of South Carolina, now in the power of gen. Leſlie, ſhall be reſtored to their former owners, as far as is practicable, except ſuch ſlaves as may have rendered themſelves particularly obnoxious on account of their attachment and ſervices to the Britiſh troops, and ſuch as had ſpecific promiſes of freedom." A conſideration for the advantages of this article was made in others for the benefit of the royaliſts. Great were the expectations of the inhabitants, as to their ſoon obtaining the repoſſeſſion of their property: but the compact was ſo far evaded as to be in a great meaſure ineffectual for the end propoſed.

The evacuation, though officially announced by gen. Leſlie on the 7th of Auguſt, as a meaſure ſoon to be
Dec. adopted, did not take place till the 14th of December,
14. when

when the Britiſh troops completed their embarkation. Gen: Wayne, with the legion and light infantry, had been before their works for ſeveral days, by order of gen. Greene. It was hinted to him from gen. Leſlie, through a certain medium, that if they were permitted to embark without interruption, every care ſhould be taken for the preſervation of the town. Wayne was directed to accede to the propoſal, the Britiſh alſo agreeing not to fire upon the town after getting on board. The conditions being fully underſtood by both parties, Charleſtown was evacuated and poſſeſſed without the leaſt confuſion, the American advance following cloſe on the Britiſh rear. The governor was conducted into his capital the ſame day, the civil police eſtabliſhed the day following, and on the third the town was opened for buſineſs. On the 17th the Britiſh croſſed the bar and went to ſea.

Thus congreſs have recovered the complete poſſeſſion of all the ſouthern ſtates. The ſtruggle has been long and ſevere; but when it is conſidered that the Britiſh had upward of 18,000 regular troops, beſide ſeveral thouſand militia and negroes employed for their reduction, it muſt appear that the progreſs of the American ſouthern army has been no leſs honorable than important.

Several detached articles remain to be mentioned.

A gentleman of Philadelphia has favored me with the following one. "At ten o'clock on Wedneſday evening, October 2, major gen. Lee died, after being confined to his bed from the evening of the preceding Friday. His diſorder was a defluxion on the lungs of three months ſtanding, which produced ſomething like a

1782. ſpurious inflammation of the lungs, accompanied with an epidemic remitting fever.—The character of this perſon is full of abſurdities and qualities of a moſt extraordinary nature. His underſtanding was great, his memory capacious, and his fancy brilliant. His mind was ſtored with a variety of knowledge, which he collected from books, converſation and travels. He had been in moſt European countries. He was a correct and elegant claſſical ſcholar; and both wrote and ſpoke his native language, with perſpicuity, force and beauty. From theſe circumſtances he was, at times, a moſt agreeable and inſtructive companion. His temper was naturally ſour and ſevere. He was ſeldom ſeen to laugh, and ſcarcely to ſmile. The hiſtory of his life is little elſe, than the hiſtory of diſputes, quarrels and duels, in every part of the world. He was yindictive to his enemies. His avarice had no bounds. He never went into a public and ſeldom into a private houſe, where he did not diſcover ſome marks of ineffable and contemptible meanneſs. He begrudged the expence of a nurſe in his laſt illneſs, and died in a ſmall dirty room in the Philadelphia tavern called the Canaſtoe-waggon, [deſigned chiefly for the entertainment and accommodation of common countrymen] attended by no one but a French ſervant, and Mr. Oſwald the printer, who once ſerved as an officer under him. He was both impious and profane. In his principles he was not only an infidel, but he was very hoſtile to every attribute of the Deity. His morals were exceedingly debauched. His manners were rude, partly from nature and partly from affectation. His appetite was ſo whimſical as to what he eat and drank, that he was at all times, and in all places,

places, a moſt troubleſome and diſagreeable gueſt. He 1782.
had been bred to arms from his youth; and ſerved as lieut. colonel among the Britiſh, as colonel among the Portugueſe, and afterward as aid de camp to his Poliſh majeſty, with the rank of major general. Upon the American continent's being forced into arms for the preſervation of her liberties, he was called forth by the voice of the people, and elected to the rank of third in command of their forces. He had exhauſted every valuable treatiſe, both ancient and modern, on the military art. His judgment in war was generally ſound.—He was extremely uſeful to the Americans in the beginning of the revolution, by inſpiring them with military ideas, and a contempt for Britiſh diſcipline and valor. It is difficult to ſay, whether the active and uſeful part he took in the conteſt, aroſe from perſonal reſentment againſt the king of Great Britain, or from a regard to the liberties of America. It is certain he reprobated the French alliance and republican forms of government, after he retired from the American ſervice. He was, in the field, brave in the higheſt degree; and with all his faults and oddities was beloved by his officers and ſoldiers. He was devoid of prudence, and uſed to call it *a raſcally virtue*. His partiality to dogs was too remarkable not to be mentioned in his character. Two or three of theſe animals followed him generally wherever he went. When the congreſs confirmed the ſentence of the court martial, ſuſpending him for twelve months, he pointed to his dog and exclaimed, "Oh! that I was that animal, that I might not call *man* my brother."—Two virtues he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, viz. ſincerity and veracity. He was never known to deceive

1782. or deſert a friend; and he was a ſtranger to equivocation, even where his ſafety or character were at ſtake."

A diſpoſition to miſrepreſent and blacken the Indians, in order to juſtify, or palliate the practice of cruel meaſures toward them, has particularly appeared in the caſe of the Moravian Indians, ſettled on the Muſkingum, a branch of the Ohio; who early in the laſt ſpring ſuffered deeply on account of what, they thought, the peaceable ſpirit of the goſpel required of them. The firſt gathering of thoſe Indians into a degree of civil and religious order, was about 30 years ago. The place of their reſidence was then at Whihalooſing, on the Suſquehanna, about 200 miles from Philadelphia. In a viſit to that city, about the year 1756, when the province was diſtreſſed by the Indian war, they declared their particular diſapprobation of war, and fixed reſolution to take no part therein; apprehending it to be diſpleaſing to the Great Being, who, as one of them expreſſed it, *did not make men to deſtroy men, but to love and aſſiſt each other.* About 13 years paſt, theſe Indians meeting with difficulty, from an increaſe of white ſettlers near them, by which ſpirituous liquors were brought to their towns, removed to the Muſkingum; and were accompanied by ſome of the Moravians, who have long reſided among them, carefully attended both to their civil and religious concerns, and never left them in the times of their greateſt danger and difficulty. Theſe Indians refuſed to take any part in the preſent war; notwithſtanding repeated abuſes on that account from other tribes, particularly thoſe parties which paſſed through their towns, in their way to the American frontiers, whom they ſometimes diſſuaded from their hoſtile intentions,

and prevailed upon to go back again. They alſo warned 1781.
the inhabitants of their danger. This conduct being conſidered as obſtructive to the hoſtile proceedings of the tribes at war, was at length made the plea for carrying them off. In the beginning of Auguſt, 1781, the chief of the Wyondats arrived with 220 warriors; and acquainted them, that they were come to take them away, rendering for a reaſon, that *they were a great obſtruction to them in their war-path.* The Wyondats, after committing many outrages, about the beginning of September forced them from their three towns, in all between 3 and 400 perſons. After a tedious journey in the wilderneſs, they arrived at a branch of Sanduſky creek, where the body of them were ordered to remain. Some of their principal men were ſent to the Britiſh commander at Fort Detroit, who commended them as a peaceable people, and exhorted them to remain ſuch; but added, that many complaints had been made of them, and that they had given intelligence to his enemies, wherefore he had ſent for them. He ſaid, that his inſtructions had been exceeded in the ill treatment they had received, and that he would provide for them. Thus the matter reſted till the ſpring of 1782, when theſe Moravian Indians finding corn ſcarce and dear at Sanduſky, deſired liberty to return to their ſettlements, to fetch ſome of their corn, of which they had left above 200 acres ſtanding. When it was granted, many of them went, among whom were ſeveral widows with their children.

When the people at and about the Monangahela, underſtood that a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, they gave out, that the intention of thoſe

1782. people was, to fall upon the back inhabitants, which ought to be prevented. Upon this about 160 men got together, and ſwimming their horſes over the Ohio, came ſuddenly upon the chief Moravian town. The firſt perſon who appeared, they ſhot at and wounded, when coming up to him they found he was an half Indian, ſon to one of the Moravians by an Indian woman, who had been regularly married. They killed and ſcalped him, and proceeded to the town. The Indians who were moſtly in the fields pulling corn, did not run off as they might, had they been conſcious of any offence; but came of their own accord into the town, at the call of the white people, who at firſt expreſſed friendſhip to them, and ſoon after violently ſeized and bound them. The Indians who aſſiſt the miſſionaries in keeping good order among their people, and upon occaſion give public exhortations, are called *Helpers*. Five of the moſt reſpectable of theſe, and other Indians, exhorted the younger to ſubmiſſion and patience; telling them, that they thought their troubles in this world would ſoon be at an end, and they would be with their Saviour. They then ſung and prayed together, till they were led out one after another, and inhumanly ſlaughtered; firſt the men and then the women. Two boys, who made their eſcape, related theſe particulars. One of them lay in the heap of the dead, in a houſe, and was ſcalped; but recovering his ſenſes eſcaped. The other hid himſelf under the floor; was an eye-witneſs of this tragic ſcene; and ſaw the blood of the ſlain running in a ſtream. Theſe Indians, before they were bound, were ſo ſenſible of their own innocence, that they informed the white people, that more of their brethren were at

another town, who in like manner fell a ſacrifice to the barbarity of the whites. The dead bodies were afterward burned with the houſes. Before their death, they were obliged to ſhow in what part of the woods they had concealed their effects, when the Wyondats took them away. Thoſe of the third town having ſome intelligence of what paſſed, made their eſcape. This is a ſummary of the dreadful tranſaction, as given by the principal leader of thoſe that remain. The Pennſylvania packet of April ſays of theſe white ſavages, "that they killed upward of 90, (but a few making their eſcape) about 40 of which were warriors, the reſt old women and children. About 80 horſes fell into the hands of the whites, which they loaded with the plunder, the greateſt part furs and ſkins." It was for the ſake of the plunder that the Indians were killed. 1784.

It is alleged, in vindication of this deliberate maſſacre, that 40 of theſe Indians were warriors preparing to attack the American frontiers: but this aſſertion contradicts itſelf; for had it been the caſe, they would not have brought their wives, with the widows and 34 children, who were ſlain with them; nor would they have ſuffered themſelves to be thus ſlaughtered without making the leaſt reſiſtance, or killing even one of their murderers.

Soon after the death of theſe Indians, about 500 men, probably encouraged by this eaſy conqueſt, and in hope of plunder, aſſembled at the Old Mingos on the weſt ſide of the Ohio; and being equipped on horſeback, ſet out for Sanduſky, where the remaining part of the Moravian Indians reſided, in order to deſtroy that ſettlement, and other Indian towns in thoſe parts;

1782. but the Wyondats, and other Indians, having ſome knowledge of their approach, and being enraged at the maſſacre, met them near Sanduſky, when an engagement enſued, in which ſome of the white people were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners, among whom was the commander, col. Crawford, and his ſon in law. The colonel they burnt to death in the moſt cruel manner; the other, with more priſoners, they tomahawked. The cruelty exerciſed on the colonel and the death of the priſoners, was undoubtedly owing in the main to the murder of the peaceable Moravian Indians *.

General Waſhington, in Auguſt, eſtabliſhed honorary badges of diſtinction, to be conferred on the non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers of the army, who had ſerved three years with bravery, fidelity and good conduct; and upon every one who had or ſhould perform any ſingularly meritorious action. The candidate for the reward annexed to ſuch action, was to ſet forth the particular fact to the commander in chief, accompanied with inconteſtible proof. Upon granting it, the name and regiment of the perſon, with the action ſo certified, were to be enrolled in a *book of merit*, kept in the orderly office. Men who have merited the laſt diſtinction, are to be ſuffered to paſs all guards and ſentinels, which a non-commiſſioned officer is ſuffered to paſs. Military operations being ſuſpended, the opportunity has been improved for perfecting the diſcipline of the army.

* The above account is extracted from ſome—Obſervations on the ſituation, diſpoſition and character of the Indian natives on the American continent, by that late moſt excellent philanthropiſt of the quaker perſuaſion, Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia. The American papers told a different ſtory, ſuch as was calculated to exculpate their own people.

The

The court of Verſailles ordered that the corps under 1782.
count de Rochambeau ſhould go to the Weſt Indies, in caſe the evacuation of New York or Charleſtown ſhould take place. In expectation that the latter would happen, the French legion marched from Richmond in Virginia, and the French army under the count from Williamſburgh, to the northward, in the beginning of July. Toward the laſt of October, they proceeded to the eaſtern ſtates under the pretext of taking winter quarters there; but in fact with the deſign of embarking on board the French ſquadron of 15 ſail of the line and 4 frigates, (which arrived under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil in the lower harbour of Boſton, on the 10th of Auguſt) whenever the evacuation, on which the ultimate movement depended, ſhould be ſufficiently aſcertained.

When Rochambeau was about leaving Williamſburgh, the city and corporation preſented him with a polite and affectionate addreſs. His anſwer cloſed with—"I feel an additional ſatisfaction in having fought in Virginia, under the auſpices of a Virginia general, whoſe glory, equally celebrated in both hemiſpheres, ſhines with particular luſtre in his native country." The count arrived at gen. Waſhington's head quarters on the 14th of September. Soon after, the French army joined the American; and was reviewed by the commander in chief on the 20th. Affection, eſteem, and cordiality, were equally viſible in the countenances of the French officers and of the Americans. The four diviſions of the French army arrived at Boſton in the firſt week of December, under the command of the baron Viomenil, who is ordered to the Weſt Indies inſtead of count de Rochambeau: the count returns to France. On the

11th,

1782. 11th, gov. Hancock and the council gave a public dinner to the general and field officers, the marquis de Vaudreuil and the principal officers in the fleet. The Magnifique, a 74 gun ſhip, one of the fleet, having been loſt by accident in the harbour of Boſton, congreſs, deſirous of teſtifying the ſenſe they entertained of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's generous exertions in behalf of the United States, reſolved on the 3d of September, to preſent the America, a 74 gun ſhip, to the chevalier de la Luzerne for the ſervice of the French king. The fleet ſailed with the army on the 29th of December.

On the 20th of December, the celebrated Charleſtown frigate, commanded by capt. Joiner, and (according to the New York account) carrying 28 forty-two pounders mounted on her main deck, and on the quarter-deck and forecaſtle 12 twelve pounders, and 450 men, was taken by the Britiſh Quebec of 33 guns and Diomede of 44, after a chaſe of 18 hours and a half from off the Delaware.

The demand for bibles being great and the price high, in conſequence of the war, Mr. Aitken, a printer at Philadelphia, undertook and finiſhed an American edition of the holy ſcriptures in Engliſh, the firſt of the kind. Congreſs on the 1ſt of laſt September, recommended it to their two chaplains (the Rev. Dr. White * an epiſcopalian, and the Rev. Mr. Duffield a preſbyterian) to examine the execution of the work, and if approved, to give it the ſanction of their judgment and weight of their recommendation. They reported in

* Since ordained a biſhop according to the rites, and by the hands of the biſhops, of the church of England.

favor

favor of it, that they were of opinion that it was exe- 17
cuted with great accuracy as to the ſenſe, and with as few grammatical and typographical errors as could be expected in a work of ſuch magnitude. Whereupon congreſs paſſed a reſolve on the 12th of September, highly approving the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr. Aitken, and recommending his edition of the bible to the inhabitants of the United States. Notwithſtanding this recommendation, ſhould the war cloſe in a ſhort time, imported bibles will be ſold ſo much cheaper, and on that account be ſo univerſally bought, that Mr. Aitken will be a conſiderable loſer by the great expence which neceſſarily attended his undertaking.

This town of Roxbury has given each of the three years men whom they inliſted for the army in 1781 and 1782, a bounty of not leſs than fifty-ſix pounds five ſhillings ſterling, hard money. The bounties given by the towns in the Maſſachuſetts for ſimilar purpoſes for the laſt of theſe years, will average 64l. 4s. 9d. ſterling, in caſh, on every ſuch recruit. The enormity of the ſum has proved an heavy burden to numbers who have ſhared in the expence.

LET-

LETTER XI.

Paris, Dec. 3, 1782.

FRIEND G.

1782. THE Dutch fleet having returned to the Texel, and the Britiſh convoy from the Baltic being out of danger, the ſhips ſent to the Downs to attend the motions of the Dutch, returned to accompany the Britiſh fleet in their expedition to Gibraltar. Upon the junc-
Sept. 11. tion lord Howe ſailed from Portſmouth, with 33 ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates and fireſhips, a fleet of tranſports, victuallers and ſtoreſhips, with a body of troops on board for the relief of the garriſon. He was accompanied by the admirals Barrington, Milbanke, Hood, and Sir R. Hughes, by commodore Hotham, and an able brave ſet of naval officers.

After the reduction of Minorca, the duke de Crillon was appointed captain general of the Spaniſh forces, and was deſtined to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar. No mean was neglected, nor expence ſpared to inſure ſucceſs. Ambition, honor, pride, revenge, all united in urging to the utmoſt exertions for the conqueſt of the place; and as all former ones had failed, the invention and application of ſuch as were new became neceſſary. The chevalier D'Arcon, a French engineer, was confided in as being equal to the ſervice. A plan had been propoſed by him in the latter part of the preceding year. The preparations though vaſt, and extremely expenſive,

were

were nearly completed; and the reduction of the place 1782.
was not only deemed certain, but the powers to be uſed were ſo prodigious and formidable, that little leſs than the annihilation of the fortreſs was expected to be the conſequence of any great obſtinacy of defence in the garriſon. The plan of the chevalier was, to conſtruct, from ſhips, floating batteries that could not be ſunk or fired. They were to be ſecured from ſinking, by the extraordinary thickneſs of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; and which was to render them proof in that reſpect againſt all external or internal violence. They were to be defended from being fired, by having their ſides ſecured with a ſtrong wall, compoſed of timber and cork, long ſoaked in water, and including between them a large body of wet ſand; the whole of ſuch a thickneſs, that no cannon ball ſhould penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A conſtant ſupply of water was to keep the parts expoſed to fire alway wet; and the cork was to act as a ſponge in retaining the moiſture.

Ten great ſhips, from 600 to 1400 ton burden, were cut down to the ſtate required by the plan; and 200,000 feet of timber worked into their conſtruction. To protect them from bombs, and the men from grape or deſcending ſhot, a hanging roof was contrived, to be worked up and down by ſprings at pleaſure. The roof was made of a ſtrong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides: its ſloping poſition was calculated to prevent the ſhells from lodging, and to throw them off into the ſea, before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new braſs cannon of great weight; and about half the number of ſpare guns,

1782. guns, of the ſame kind, were kept ready, inſtantly to ſupply the place of thoſe which might be over-heated, or otherwiſe diſabled. That the fire of theſe guns might be the more inſtantaneous and effective, the chevalier had contrived a kind of match, by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together. Red-hot ſhot from the fortreſs was what the Spaniards moſt dreaded. To reſtrain its effect there was a contrivance for communicating water in every direction. A great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the ſolid workmanſhip in ſuch a manner, that a continued ſucceſſion of water was to be conveyed to every part of the veſſels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpoſe of an unlimited ſupply. By this mean it was expected, that the red-hot ſhot would operate to the remedy of its own miſchief, and procure its immediate extinction by cutting through the pipes.

The preparation was enormous in other reſpects. About 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance had been brought to the ſpot, for the numerous intended purpoſes of attack by ſea and land. The quantities of every kind of military ſtore were immenſe. The gunpowder only is ſaid to have exceeded 83,000 barrels. Forty gun-boats with heavy artillery, as many bomb-boats with 12 inch mortars, beſide a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches on the uſual conſtruction, were appointed to ſecond the efforts of the great battering veſſels. Nearly all the frigates, and ſmaller armed veſſels of the kingdom were aſſembled, to afford ſuch aid as they might be capable of; and between 2 and 300 large boats were collected, which with thoſe already in the vicinity, were to miniſter to the fighting veſſels during action, and to land

land troops as ſoon as the fortreſs was diſmantled. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about 50 ſhips of the line, were to cover and ſupport the attack, while they heightened the terrors and magnificence of the ſcene.

The preparations by land were no leſs conſiderable. Twelve thouſand French troops joined the Spaniards. The duke de Crillon was aſſiſted by a number of the beſt officers of both countries, and particularly of the beſt engineers and artilleriſts of his own. The fame of theſe extraordinary preparations drew volunteers from every part of Europe to the camp before Gibraltar; and not only the nobility of Spain, but of other countries aſſembled, either to diſplay their valor, or to gratify curioſity in beholding ſuch a naval and military ſpectacle, as had ſcarcely been before exhibited. The count de Artois, the French king's brother, and his couſin the duke de Bourbon, ſeemed eager to immortalize their names, by partaking in the glory of recovering Gibraltar to the crown of their kinſman and ally. Their arrival increaſed the ſplendor of the ſcene; and afforded an opportunity for the diſplay of that politeneſs, and the exerciſe of thoſe civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe, have diveſted war of many parts of its ancient barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, were tranſmitted to Madrid, where they lay when the count de Artois arrived at that capital. The prince, in the true ſpirit of generoſity, obtained the packets from the Spaniſh king, and conveyed them under his own care to the camp.

The

1782. The tranſmiſſion of the packets to Gibraltar, afforded an opportunity to the duke de Crillon of accompanying them with a letter to gen. Elliot, in which, beſide informing him of the arrival of the French princes, and of this particular mark of attention ſhown by the count, he further acquainted him, that he was charged by them reſpectively, to convey to the general the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of their regard and eſteem for his perſon and character. The duke expreſſed his own in the moſt flattering terms. He alſo requeſted in the moſt obliging manner, that the general would accept of a preſent of fruit and vegetables for his own uſe, and of ſome ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his houſehold; further entreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely on vegetables, he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked beſt, with a view to his regular ſupply. The whole letter may be viewed as a model of military politeneſs.

General Elliot was not leſs polite or obliging in his anſwer, whether with reſpect to the duke himſelf, or to the princes. But he informed the duke, that in accepting the preſent, he had broken through a reſolution, which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive or procure by any mean whatever, any proviſions or other commodity for his own private uſe. He declared that every thing was ſold publicly in the garriſon, ſo that the private ſoldier, if he had money, might become a purchaſer with the ſame facility as the governor; and that he made it a point of honor to partake of both plenty and ſcarcity, in common with the loweſt of his brave fellow ſoldiers. He therefore entreated the duke, not

to

to heap up any more favors of the ſame kind upon him, 1782.
as he could not in future apply them to his own uſe.

The French princes arrived at the camp about the middle of Auguſt; and after examining the ſtate of the preparations by land, reviewed the new and extraordinary machines contrived by the chevalier D'Arcon: in doing it they were accompanied by all the principal commanders of both nations, whether in the land or naval ſervice. The confidence afterward placed in the effect to be produced by theſe machines was extravagant; and the impatience of the combined forces both by ſea and land for action became exceſſive. The apprehenſion of lord Howe's arrival ſerved to quicken the determinations of the Spaniſh court, and to accelerate the operations of the fleet and army.

While gen. Elliot obſerved the gathering ſtorm, he could obtain only ſome general knowledge of the mighty preparations that were making. He was utterly in the dark as to the nature, conſtruction and mode of operation of the new invented batteries. He provided however for every circumſtance of danger which could be imagined, and for the reception of every enemy, whatever might be his mode of operation. Obſerving that the Spaniſh works on the land ſide were nearly completed, the general determined on trying how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment, with red-hot balls, carcaſſes and ſhells, might operate to their deſtruction. A powerful and well directed firing was commenced by the garriſon at ſeven in the morning, and ſupported through the day with admirable ſkill and dexterity. By ten, two of the Spaniſh batteries were in flames, and by five in the evening entirely conſumed, together with their gun

Sept. 8.

1782. carriages, platforms and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eaſtern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for muſketry were likewiſe deſtroyed, and a large battery near the bay much damaged. The enemy's works were on fire in fifty places at the ſame inſtant.

This attack appears to have been reſented by the allied commanders, ſo as to have precipitated their meaſures. A new battery of 64 heavy cannon was opened by break of day the next morning, which with the cannon in their lines, and above 60 mortars, continued to pour their ſhot and ſhells upon the garriſon without intermiſſion, through the whole day. At the ſame time, nine ſhips of the line, with ſome frigates and ſmaller veſſels, taking the advantage of the wind, paſſed ſlowly by the works, and diſcharged their ſhot at the ſouth baſtion, continuing their cannonade, until they had paſſed Europa point. They then formed, and came to the attack of the batteries on Europa point, and commenced a heavy fire, which laſted till they were entirely paſſed.

The ſmall Britiſh marine force at Gibraltar under capt. Curtis, being ſhut up by the ſuperiority of the enemy from exertion on their proper element, was formed into a diſtinct corps, under the name of the marine brigade, and Curtis held the rank and title of brigadier as their commander. The defence of the batteries on Europa point was committed to him and his corps. They diſcharged their truſt ſo well, that having repeatedly ſtruck the enemy in the firſt attack, the veſſels were afterward kept at a ſafe diſtance.

The

The firing from the iſthmus was renewed on the 10th, and continued the ſucceeding days, at the rate of 6500 cannon ſhot and 1080 ſhells, in every 24 hours. The gun and mortar boats were alſo added to the other inſtruments of deſtruction. Their combined force produced little effect, either with reſpect to the loſs of men in the garriſon, or the damage done to the works. At length the combined fleets arrived at Algeziras, and with thoſe already on the ſpot, amounted to 44 ſail of the line, beſide three inferior two deckers. The new invented battering veſſels were likewiſe in readineſs. Their batteries were covered with 142 pieces of new heavy braſs cannon. The Paſtora, the admiral's veſſel, had 21 guns mounted and 10 in reſerve. The Prince of Naſſau's was of the ſame force. Thirty-ſix artillery men and volunteers from the Spaniſh and French armies were allotted to the ſervice of each gun: theſe being excluſive of the officers and ſeamen who navigated the veſſels, the whole number on board was eſtimated at between 6 and 7000 men. The gun and mortar boats, with the floating batteries and the bomb ketches, were to carry on their attacks in every poſſible direction, while the fire of the battering ſhips was pointed againſt their deſtined objects. By this mean, and by the fire of near 300 cannon, mortars and howitzers from the iſthmus, it was intended, that, every part of the works being attacked at the ſame inſtant, and every quarter preſenting a ſimilar face of danger, the reſiſtance of the garriſon ſhould become generally ineffective, and totally unequal to the accumulated weight and force of the grand attack. 1782. Sept. 10.

1782. Sept. 13. At eight in the morning, the ten battering ſhips commandeded by admiral Don Buenventura Moreno, were put in motion, and proceeded to their ſeveral ſtations. Between nine and ten they came to an anchor, in a line from the old to the new Mole, parallel to the rock, and from 1000 to 1200 yards diſtant. The admiral's ſhip was ſtationed oppoſite the king's baſtion; and the others took their appointed places, ſucceſſively and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral. The ſurrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain had aſſembled to behold the ſpectacle.

The cannonade and bombardment, on all ſides and in all directions, from the iſthmus, the ſea, and the various works of the fortreſs, was tremendouſly magnificent beyond deſcription. The prodigious ſhowers of red-hot balls, of bombs and of carcaſſes, which filled the air, and were without intermiſſion thrown from the garriſon, to every point of the various attacks, both by ſea and land, aſtoniſhed the commanders of the allied forces; who could not conceive how gen. Elliot had been able to conſtruct and manage ſuch a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed neceſſary for the heating of the quantity of ſhot thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which only the battering ſhips received in the courſe of the day, was eſtimated at not leſs than 4000. The peninſula ſeemed at the ſame time to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire, inceſſantly poured upon it.

The battering ſhips were ſo well conſtructed for withſtanding the combined powers of fire and artillery, that for ſeveral hours the continued ſhowers of ſhells and hot ſhot with which they were aſſailed, were not capable of making any viſible impreſſion upon them. But about

two o'clock the admiral's ſhip was obſerved to ſmoke. The fire, though kept under, during the day light, could not be thoroughly ſubdued. After a time, the Prince of Naſſau's ſhip was diſcovered to be in the ſame condition. The diſorder that took place in theſe two commanding ſhips, affected the whole line of attack; and by the evening the fire from the fortreſs had gained a decided ſuperiority. This fire was continued with equal vigor through the night; and by one in the morning, the two firſt ſhips were in flames, and ſeveral others viſibly on fire. Continual ſignals to the fleet were ſufficiently expreſſive of their extreme diſtreſs and danger. All means were uſed by the fleet to afford aſſiſtance: but as it was judged impoſſible to remove the battering ſhips, their endeavours were only directed to the bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and much intrepidity was diſplayed in the attempts for this purpoſe.

Captain Curtis, to complete the general confuſion and deſtruction, manned his twelve gun-boats with his marine brigade; and drew them up in ſuch a manner as to flank the line of battering ſhips. Each of his boats carried a 24 or 18 pounder, and by its low fire and fixed aim, was not a little formidable. The battering ſhips were ſoon overwhelmed by the inceſſant fire from the garriſon, and by that of the Britiſh gun-boats, raking the whole extent of their line. The ſcene was now wrought up to the higheſt point of calamity. The Spaniſh boats no longer dared to approach; but were compelled to abandon their ſhips and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity of a heated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been ſunk before

1782. they ſubmitted to this neceſſity. The day light at length appearing, two Spaniſh feluccas, which had not eſcaped with the others, attempted to get out of the danger; but a ſhot from a gun-boat having killed ſeveral men on board one of them, both were glad to ſurrender.

The horrors of the night were terrible; but the opening of the day diſcloſed a ſpectacle ſtill more painful. Numbers of men were ſeen in the midſt of the flames crying out for pity and help; others floating on pieces of timber, expoſed to equal danger from the oppoſite element. Thoſe in the ſhips where the fire had made a leſs progreſs, expreſſed in their looks, geſtures and words, the deepeſt diſtreſs and deſpair; and were equally urgent in imploring aſſiſtance. The fire both from the garriſon and gun-boats inſtantly ceaſed; and every danger was encountered by capt. Curtis and his marine brigade, in endeavouring to reſcue the diſtreſſed enemy from ſurrounding deſtruction. In theſe efforts the boats were expoſed to the peril ariſing from the continual diſcharge, on all ſides of the artillery, as the guns became heated to a certain degree, and from the blowing up of the battering ſhips as the fire reached their magazines. A more ſtriking inſtance of the ardor and boldneſs with which the marine brigade acted, needs not be given, than that of an officer and 29 privates (all ſeverely wounded) being dragged out from among the ſlain in the holds of the burning veſſels, moſt of whom recovered in the hoſpital at Gibraltar.

Captain Curtis was repeatedly in the moſt imminent danger; particularly ſo when his pinnace was cloſe to one of the largeſt ſhips at the time ſhe blew up: while every object was for a conſiderable while buried in a thick

a thick cloud of ſmoke, gen. Elliot and the garriſon ſuffered the moſt poignant diſtreſs, conſidering the fate of their friend as inevitable. Thirteen officers and 344 men were ſaved by the exertions of the brigade. It was happy, that the greater part of the troops and ſeamen had been removed, before capt. Curtis could make his attack with the gun boats. It is thought however that the enemy loſt 1500 men, priſoners and wounded included, in their attack by ſea.

Admiral Don Moreno left his flag flying when he abandoned his ſhip, in which ſtate it continued, till it was conſumed or blown up with the veſſel. Eight more ſhips blew up ſucceſſively in the courſe of the day. The tenth was burnt by the Britiſh, there being no poſſibility of preſerving her for ſervice. The loſs ſuſtained by the allies on the iſthmus during the attack cannot be aſcertained. The loſs of the garriſon was nearly confined to the artillery corps and the marine brigade. From the 9th of Auguſt to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commiſſioned officers and private men ſlain, amounted to ſixty-five only, the wounded were 388, beſide twelve commiſſioned officers.

Such was the ſignal and complete defenſive victory, obtained by a comparatively handful of brave men, over the combined land and naval efforts of two great and powerful nations, who for the attainment of a favorite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparations.

The allies were now compelled to reſt their hopes of recovering Gibraltar, on the reduction of the garriſon to a ſurrender, through the mere failure of ammunition and proviſions. But this was not to be effected, unleſs

1782. 64 ſail, about 42 appeared to be of the line, including ſeveral large three deckers. By day light the next morning, they were perceived cloſe in with the land, and at ſuch a diſtance as not to be viſible from the deck. During their movements they had recovered the two miſſing ſhips.

In the morning it was diſcovered, that ſeveral tranſports had not proceeded with the Buffalo, and that others had joined lord Howe in the night. Upon this account, the wind becoming favorable, the fleet proceeded in order of battle toward the Straits, and paſſed eighteen of the convoy ſafe to Gibraltar bay. By the 18th, the veſſels under the care of the Buffalo rejoined the fleet and were ſent in. The two regiments on board the ſhips of war and frigates were landed; and the ſcarcity of ammunition in the garriſon was removed by a ſupply of 1500 barrels from the fleet. Gibraltar being now fully relieved, lord Howe concluded on taking immediate advantage of the eaſterly wind, which had prevailed a few days, for returning through the Straits to the weſtward. When he was in the entrance of the gut, and encloſed between the oppoſite points of Europa and Ceuta, the combined fleets appeared at no great diſtance to the north eaſt, at the break of day on the 19th. They followed his lordſhip, and the next morn-
Oct. 20. ing were perceived at about five leagues diſtance to the windward. The Britiſh formed in order of battle to leeward. At ſun-ſet the enemy began a cannonade on the van and rear of Howe's fleet; but generally at ſuch a diſtance as to produce little effect. Perceiving however a part of his rear much ſeparated from the reſt, they made a bolder attempt upon that diviſion. The French and Spaniſh

Spaniſh admirals led the attack upon the ſeparated ſhips, 17
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The diſtant fire of the combined fleets did much damage to the yards and rigging of ſeveral Britiſh ſhips: the number of men and officers killed and wounded, amounted to 265; a trifling loſs compared with the importance of the ſervice in which lord Howe had been engaged. His lordſhip having effected the buſineſs on which he was diſpatched, and the combined fleets being at a conſiderable diſtance in the morning, apparently on their return to Cadiz, he proceeded on his way home; but while doing it he detached eight ſhips of the line to the Weſt Indies, and ſix to the coaſts of Ireland.

The exiſtence of theſe events did not interrupt the negotiations for peace, carrying on at Paris. Theſe were rather forwarded by it; as the belligerent powers were brought into a nearer equality of circumſtances for treating with each other.

Mr. Jay, in conſequence of his being appointed by congreſs one of the commiſſioners to treat for peace with Great Britain, left Madrid and repaired to Paris. He and Dr. Franklin were received by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the count D'Aranda, as miniſters from congreſs, when they dined with him in the beginning of July. This might be viewed by others as a public acknowledgment, on the part of Spain, of the independence of the American United States; but could not ſatisfy Mr. Jay, who declined negotiating with D'Aranda without

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1782. without an exchange of commiſſions, though the French miniſter Vergennes wiſhed him to do it. Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oſwald were ſent over on the part of Great Britain, the former to treat chiefly with the European powers, the latter with the Americans. The commiſſion granted to Mr. Oſwald, inſtead of acknowledging the independence of the United States in the firſt inſtance, provided only for the acknowledgment of it in an article of the propoſed treaty. Mr. Jay objected to the commiſſion. The count de Vergennes thought it ſufficient, and would have had him proceed: but notwithſtanding the inſtructions of congreſs, he declined complying with the count's wiſhes. Dr. Franklin declared himſelf of the ſame opinion with the count. Jay however was fixed; and drew up a letter, which he intended to ſend to Vergennes, containing his reaſons for not treating with Oſwald upon that commiſſion. When he ſhowed it to Dr. Franklin, the doctor owned the force of his reaſonings; and that he had not attended to them before, or he ſhould not have ſo readily fallen in with the opinion of the French miniſter. Mr. Jay kept up a friendly correſpondence with Mr. Adams, one of his fellow commiſſioners, and acquainted him with the ſtate of affairs. They judged alike; and Mr. Adams determined not to leave Holland and repair to Paris, till Mr. Oſwald had a different commiſſion.

Mean while Mr. Adams employed himſelf in negotiating *A treaty of amity and commerce, between the States General of the United Netherlands, and the United States of America*, which was concluded on the 8th of October. The 10th article provides, that the veſſels of either party, not having contraband goods for an enemy's port, may

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freely

freely purſue their voyage; and that it ſhall not be required to examine the papers of veſſels convoyed by men of war, but credence ſhall be given to the word of the officer conducting the convoy. The 24th ſets forth, that under the denomination of contraband and merchandiſes prohibited, ſhall be comprehended only warlike ſtores and arms, as alſo ſoldiers, horſes, ſaddles and furniture for horſes. All other effects and merchandiſes, and even all ſorts of naval matters, however proper they may be for the conſtruction and equipment of veſſels of war, or for the manufacture of one or another ſort of machines of war, by land or ſea, ſhall not be judged contraband; and may be tranſported from and to places belonging to the enemy, thoſe only excepted which are nearly ſurrounded by ſome of the belligerent powers.

Mr. Jay and Mr. Oſwald often converſed freely with each other, notwithſtanding the objection made to the Britiſh commiſſion; and without letting either the French miniſter or Dr. Franklin know of it, prepared all things as far as poſſible for treating officially whenever a new commiſſion ſhould be received. On the 10th of September, Mr. Jay had put into his hands the following copy of a tranſlation of a letter to count de Vergennes—"N° 225. Philadelphia, March 13, 1782. Sir, Gen. Greene affirms, that in no one ſtate is attachment to independency carried to a higher pitch, than in South Carolina: but that this affection is yet exceeded by the hatred borne to England. Mr. Mathews, governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge, has communicated to perſons of the moſt influence in his ſtate, the ultimatum of the month of laſt, who approved of the clauſes in general, and particularly that one which leaves

the

1782. the king maſter of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, excepting independence and the treaties of commerce and alliance. Mr. S. Adams is uſing all his endeavours to raiſe in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts a ſtrong oppoſition to peace, if the eaſtern ſtates are not thereby admitted to the fiſheries and particularly to that of Newfoundland. Mr. Adams delights in trouble and difficulty. He could not have uſed a fitter engine than the fiſheries, for ſtirring up the paſſions of the eaſtern people, and renewing the queſtion that had lain dormant during his two years abſence at Boſton. The reigning toaſt in the eaſt is—*May the United States ever maintain their right to the fiſheries!* It would be dangerous informing the people through the public papers. The king however may cauſe to be intimated to congreſs or the miniſter, his ſurpriſe that the Newfoundland fiſheries have been included in the additional inſtructions; that the United States ſet forth therein pretenſions without paying regard to the king's rights, and without conſidering the impoſſibility of their making conqueſts, and keeping what belongs to Britain. His majeſty might cauſe a promiſe to be given to congreſs of his aſſiſtance for procuring admiſſion *to the other fiſheries*, declaring however that he would not be anſwerable for the ſucceſs, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article. The declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be ſupported, nor could it one day hereafter be ſaid, that we left them in the dark on this point. It were to be wiſhed, that this declaration ſhould be made, while New York, Charleſtown and Penobſcot are in the enemy's hands. There are ſome judicious perſons to whom we may ſpeak of giving up the fiſheries,

eries, and the lands of the weſt for the ſake of peace; 1782.
but there are enthuſiaſts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail of increaſing when the Engliſh are expelled. The diviſion is nearly equal in congreſs and among the ſtates; and our influence can incline the beam, either for peace or war, which ever we may chooſe. Let his majeſty likewiſe cauſe a memorial to be delivered to congreſs, wherein ſhould be ſtated the uſe made by miniſters of the powers intruſted to them by that aſſembly, and the impediments which may have ſtood in the way of a fuller ſatisfaction on every point. It is remarked by ſome, that as England has other fiſheries beſide Newfoundland, ſhe may perhaps endeavour that the Americans ſhould partake in that of the grand bank, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure them ſome compenſation, or create a ſubject of jealouſy between them and us; but it does not ſeem likely, that ſhe will act ſo contrary to her own intereſt; and was ſhe ſo to do, it will be for the better to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretenſion is not founded, and that his majeſty does not mean to ſupport it. Barbè Marbois."

Mr. Jay told Mr. Oſwald—"If lord Shelburne means to have the United States *friends*, as he cannot have them for *ſubjects*, their independence muſt be acknowledged in the beginning. While their independence is not acknowledged directly or indirectly, they will be obliged by the treaty to continue annexed to France till ſuch acknowledgment is made, and ſo to fight the battles and promote the views of France. Independence muſt be acknowledged, that ſo the Americans may be ſeparated from France, and a peace be accompliſhed:

1782. pliſhed: and if they are not admitted to the fiſhery and the weſtern lands, there will be continual bickerings, and a friendſhip be prevented." Oſwald was at length convinced, by frequently diſcourſing with Jay, that a new commiſſion muſt be granted. That all future objections and difficulties might be precluded, he deſired Jay to give him a draught of one, which ſhould be fully to his ſatisfaction: this was done.

The firſt confidential ſecretary of count de Vergennes drew up a memoir, which when Mr. Jay had peruſed he was apprehenſive, that the French court would, at a peace, oppoſe the extenſion of the territory of the United States to the Miſſiſſippi, together with their claim to the free navigation of that river—would probably ſupport the Britiſh claims to all the country above the 31 degree of latitude, and certainly to all the country north of the Ohio—and that, if America ſhould not agree to divide with Spain in the manner propoſed by count D'Aranda, the French court would then aid Spain in negotiating with Britain for the territory ſhe wanted, and would agree that the reſidue ſhould remain to Britain. The Spaniſh miniſter had propoſed, that the weſtern line of the United States ſhould run from a lake near the confines of Georgia, but eaſt of Flynt river, to the confluence of the Canaway with the Ohio, thence round the weſtern ſhores of Lake Erie and Huron, and thence round Lake Michigan to Lake Superior. The propoſitions offered in the memoir by Mr. Rayneval were ſuppoſed to be the ſentiments of Vergennes. Mr. Rayneval left Paris. Mr. Jay learned from good authority, that on the morning of his departure, count D'Aranda had, contrary to his uſual practice, gone with poſt horſes

to

to Verſailles, and was two or three hours in conference with Vergennes and Rayneval, before the latter ſet out for England. All theſe facts taken together, Jay conjectured that Rayneval was ſent to let lord Shelburne know, that the demands of America to be treated by Britain as independent, previous to a treaty, were not approved of or countenanced by the French court, and that the offer of Britain to make that acknowledgment in an article of the propoſed treaty was in the court's opinion ſufficient—to ſound his lordſhip on the ſubject of the fiſhery, and to diſcover whether Britain would agree to divide it with France to the excluſion of all others—to impreſs his lordſhip with the determination of Spain to poſſeſs the excluſive navigation of the gulph of Mexico, and of their deſire to keep the Americans from the Miſſiſſippi, and alſo to hint the propriety of ſuch a line as on the one hand would ſatisfy Spain, and on the other leave to Britain all the country north of the Ohio —and to make ſuch other verbal overtures to his lordſhip as it might not be adviſable to reduce to writing, and to judge from the general tenor of his lordſhip's anſwers and converſation, whether it was probable that a general peace in terms, agreeable to France, could be effected, that ſo an immediate ſtop might be put to the negotiation, if that was not the caſe.

Mr. Jay upon this ſent for Mr. V——, and acquainted him that he muſt go over immediately to London. An expreſs being inſtantly going off, Mr. V—— addreſſed a line to lord Shelburne, and deſired his lordſhip to enter into no buſineſs with Mr. Rayneval, till V—— had firſt ſeen him. Jay gave V—— all the information he wiſhed to have communicated to his lordſhip;

1782. which being minuted down, V——— proceeded the next day for London. Soon after his arrival, the new commiſſion was iſſued, and Mr. Oſwald was empowered to treat with the United States as actually independent, and with their commiſſioners only. When Mr. Adams was informed of it, he left Holland. He Oct. 26. arrived at Paris on the 26th of October; and as ſoon as poſſible waited upon Mr. Jay. A plan was ſettled between them, how to proceed in the negotiation. When Dr. Franklin afterward joined them, Mr. Adams told him, that he and Mr. Jay had determined to negotiate with Mr. Oſwald without conſulting or being adviſed by count de Vergennes. The doctor made no reply to it; but the next morning told them, that he would act with them in that way.

Mr. Rayneval being in company with them after his return to Paris, aſked them what they demanded as to the fiſheries; and was anſwered—"We inſiſt on enjoying a right in common to them with Britain." The other intimated that their views ſhould not extend further than a coaſt fiſhery; and inſinuated that pains had lately been taken in the eaſtern ſtates, to excite their apprehenſions and increaſe their demands on that head. He was told that ſuch a right was eſſential to them, and that their people would not be content to make peace without it. Dr. Franklin explained very fully the importance of the fiſheries to the eaſtern ſtates in particular. Rayneval then ſoftened his manner, and obſerved, that it was natural for France to wiſh better to the United States than to England; but as the fiſheries were a great nurſery for ſeamen, they might ſuppoſe England would be diſinclined to let others ſhare in it, and that for his part he wiſhed

there might be as few obſtacles to a peace as poſſible. 1782.
He reminded them alſo, that Mr. Oſwald's new commiſſion had been iſſued poſterior to his arrival at London.

The fiſheries labored for ſome time. The Britiſh miniſtry were for excluding the Americans from fiſhing within three leagues of any of the coaſts belonging to Britain, and within fifteen of Louiſburgh. Mr. Adams told Mr. Oſwald, that the New England ſtates had no ſtaple without the fiſhery—that the fiſheries entered into all their trade—that were they excluded from them, the Britiſh would not be benefited by it, for the French would get the trade—that Britain would have nothing to fear from a number of American ſailors at ſuch a diſtance, whatever they might have from the French who were near—that the fiſhermen would break through ſuch limits, whatever care might be uſed to prevent it, which might prove a bone of contention, and bring on another war after a few years. Mr. Oſwald made a great difficulty about acknowledging the *right* of the Americans to the fiſheries; and was for inſerting the word *liberty*. After a while Mr. Adams ſaid—"They have a *right* every way. The banks are only ſo many leagues from the Americans, but they are ſo many from the Europeans; if the latter have a right by nature, certainly the former have. We have fought together with the Engliſh in their wars for the enjoyment of them, and with them we have poſſeſſed them; and therefore we have a *full right*." The word *right* was agreed to be inſerted in the treaty. The article of the fiſhery coſt the American commiſſioners, all the induſtry, ſkill and addreſs that they were maſters of. Mr. Laurens's preſence with his brother commiſſioners the two laſt days was of great

1782. ſervice. He propoſed the inſertion of a paragraph againſt carrying away any negroes or other property, belonging to the American inhabitants. He appeared deeply impreſſed with the loſs of his ſon; but the venerable hero thanked God that he had ſuch a ſon, one who was willing to loſe his life in the cauſe of his country.

Nov. 30. The American commiſſioners expedited the negotiation with the utmoſt aſſiduity; and on the 30th of November, proviſional articles were agreed upon and ſigned, to take effect whenever terms of peace ſhould be finally ſettled with the court of France. The buſineſs was finiſhed ſo privately and unexpectedly, that miniſters and ambaſſadors, as well as others in and about the court of Verſailles, were ſurpriſed upon hearing the news. The ſigning of the proviſional articles will probably ſuſpend the hoſtile operations of France and Spain, till it is known whether a general peace can be agreed upon. They have collected their fleets at Cadiz to the amount of near forty ſhips of the line, which are deſtined for the Weſt Indies, and are to be commanded by count d'Eſtaing; who is to convoy thither ſeveral thouſand French troops under the marquis de la Fayette. Had not the American commiſſioners improved the precious moment that offered, without entangling themſelves by conſulting count de Vergennes, the Britiſh miniſtry might have been changed, and thoſe events have ſucceeded, which would have kept the United States much longer from the poſſeſſion of their independence.

We muſt now quit the negotiations of peace for the operations which relate to war. By the French gazette it appears, that capt. de la Perouſe, commanding a diviſion of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's fleet, has deſtroyed

the ſettlements at Hudſon's-bay. He computes the loſs ſuſtained by the Hudſon's-bay Company at about 500,000l. ſterling.

The gentlemen of the county of Suffolk propoſed building a ſhip of the line for the uſe of government, and began a ſubſcription for the purpoſe. The plan was to be carried into immediate execution, when twelve other counties had agreed to follow the example. There was ſubſcribed in the whole 21067l. 19s. 6d. The propoſal anſwered a good purpoſe, as may be ſeen by the following extract of a letter from Wm. Middleton eſq; to the corporation of Ipſwich.—"Sept. 7. It is with ſingular ſatisfaction I can inform you, that the ſpirited reſolve of this county, has already had its deſired effect on the court of France. Mr. Fitzherbert, now at Paris, writes word, that nothing but a deciſive victory at ſea, could have had ſo ſtriking an effect on that court, as the reſolves of this and the other counties, to build ſhips of war by voluntary contributions, for the uſe of the public." But Sir James Lowther diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a noble ſingularity, which few had power to follow. On the 6th of September, he waited on lord Keppel, and after expreſſing his concern that county ſubſcriptions for building men of war went on languidly, requeſted his lordſhip to preſent his duty to the king, and at the ſame time beſeech his majeſty to accept a man of war of the line from him, completely manned, victualled, and fitted for action. Lord Keppel, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an unexampled inſtance of generoſity in a private gentleman, aſſured Sir James that his requeſt ſhould be inſtantly complied with, which it accordingly

1782. was; and the king received the offer with that mark of reſpect which became his majeſty.

Ten men of war (including count de Graſſe's ſhips taken by admiral Rodney) with a large fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica, ſuffered exceedingly by a tremendous gale of wind off Newfoundland on the 17th of September, and ſince by captures. The Ville de Paris, and the Glorieux foundered, and only one man out of the compliment of both ſhips eſcaped to tell their melancholy fate. The Hector alſo ſunk; but being deſcried in time by a ſnow that made toward them, the crew were ſaved. The captain's name was John Hill, though his veſſel was ſmall for the purpoſe, yet he took on board upward of 200 men belonging to the Hector. He threw part of his cargo overboard to make room for them; and generouſly ſhared his proviſions with them to the hazard of wanting himſelf. The greatneſs of the riſk he ran appears from hence, that the laſt caſk of water was broached on the day that land was diſcovered. The Ramilies went down, but her people were ſaved by the merchantmen in company. The Centaur was likewiſe loſt, and all her company, except twelve, with the captain, who got into the only remaining boat. They traverſed a ſpace of near 800 miles in the Atlantic ocean, without compaſs or quadrant, and with a blanket for a ſail. They had only two biſcuits divided among them every twenty-four hours; and as much water during that ſpace to every man, as the neck of a wine bottle broken off would hold. At the expiration of ſixteen days, when the laſt diviſion of biſcuit and water had been made, to their inexpreſſible joy they diſcovered the Portugueze iſland of Fayal, where they

they ſafely arrived at night. The American cruiſers carried into L'Orient 17 of the Jamaica fleet. The whole number of prizes brought into that port by them, from the beginning of the year to the end of October, amounts to 32; excluſive of what have arrived in other ports of France.

LETTER XII.

Paris, Dec. 30, 1783.

FRIEND G.

THE Governor of the Univerſe, to whoſe juſtice and determination all the late belligerent powers appealed, having ſo ordered events that peace is at length fully reſtored, the preſent letter ſhall cloſe my correſpondence upon affairs of a public nature.

Mr. Francis Dana, your late American reſident at Peterſburgh, but who ſailed from thence for America on the 7th of Auguſt, labored to obtain a reception in his public character; but received from the Ruſſian miniſter, in anſwer to his application, the following declaration.—"I have to renew to you, Sir, the expreſſion of ſatisfaction with which her Imperial majeſty is impreſſed by the mark of attention which your conſtituents have paid her, in ſending to her a perſon expreſsly clothed with a public character; and to aſſure you, that

1782. ſhe will acknowledge you with pleaſure in that quality, the inſtant that the definitive treaties which are at the eve of being concluded, ſhall have been executed—her delicacy being a law to her, not to take, before that time, a ſtep which might not be conſidered as correſponding with thoſe which have characterized her ſtrict neutrality during the courſe of the late war. Notwithſtanding which the empreſs repeats, that you may enjoy not only for your own honor, but alſo for your countrymen, who may come into her empire on commercial buſineſs, or otherwiſe, the moſt favorable reception and the protection of the laws of nations. The conduct which the empreſs has held during the courſe of the war, ſufficiently witneſſes in favor of the impartiality of her ſentiments, and puts an end to every diſcuſſion on that point, and ought to make you entirely eaſy."

While the negotiations for peace were carrying on between Great Britain, France, Spain and Holland, news was received from the Eaſt Indies, but ſuch as had not a favorable aſpect on the Britiſh intereſt in that quarter. Adm. Suffrein, with twelve ſhips of the line, and adm. Hughes with eleven, engaged afreſh on the 12th of April 1782. This action appears to have been the moſt bloody that had been fought during the war, down to that period, in proportion to the number of ſhips. The Britiſh had 144 killed, and 430 wounded. The French after that proceeded to land a body of troops, which, being joined by ſome thouſand ſeapoys ſent by Hyder Ally, inveſted and reduced Cuddalore on the coaſt of Coromandel. When the preliminary articles between Britain, France and Spain were exchanged, on the 3d of laſt February, further advices were received from

1782. April 12.

from the Eaſt Indies, giving an account, that notwithſtanding a victory which Sir Eyre Coote gained over Hyder Ally on the 2d of June 1782, the latter kept the field; and ſix days after, by the help of his numerous cavalry, ſurrounded and cut off an advanced body of the Britiſh army, and continued to haraſs it much in its march. Shortly after Sir Eyre's bad health obliged him to relinquiſh his command. The French fleet being fully repaired left Cuddalore, and on the 5th of July came in ſight of the Britiſh at Negapatam. Sir Edward Hughes immediately put to ſea. The next day he commenced a cloſe action with Monſ. de Suffrein. Both fleets ſuffered much, and at night anchored at no great diſtance from each other. In the morning the French ſhips ſailed to Cuddalore; while the Britiſh were ſo damaged in their rigging that they could not purſue. Suffrein refitted his ſquadron with the utmoſt expedition, put to ſea the beginning of Auguſt, formed a junction with a number of French tranſports and ſome men of war, and ſailed directly for Trincomale, which ſurrendered to him on the laſt day of the month. Hughes upon gaining intelligence at Madras of what was going forward, ſailed inſtantly for the relief of the place; but did not arrive before it till the 2d of September. The next morning Suffrein came out of the bay with 15 ſhips of the line, including 3 fifties. Hughes, with only twelve, including one fifty, was ready to receive him. The engagement began about noon with great fury on each ſide; and continued with equal obſtinacy till about ſeven, when the French admiral drew off, after having loſt both his mizen and main-maſt, and had ſeveral ſhips greatly damaged. He returned to Trincomale at night,

but

1783. but loſt a 74 gun ſhip in re-entering the harbour. This was the fourth battle that had been fought between Sir Edward Hughes and Monſ. de Suffrein within ſeven months. Never before had there been ſo obſtinate a competition for the maſtery of the Indian ocean. Though the bravery and ſkill of the Britiſh admiral and ſailors prevented Suffrein's availing himſelf of his ſuperiority for the capturing of his enemy's ſhips, yet he diſplayed uncommon courage, and exerted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſhowed him to be an able commander and a determined foe. About the 20th of September, Sir Richard Bickerton, with a ſquadron of five ſhips of the line, and near 5000 men, arrived at Madras.

In December laſt Hyder Ally died. Upon which gen. Mathews was ordered by the preſidency of Bombay, to proceed with his whole force into the country of Canaree, in order to poſſeſs Bednore, the capital, where Hyder's immenſe treaſures were ſuppoſed to be, together with all his magazines for war. As the place was incapable of reſiſtance, it was delivered up to the Britiſh general upon his appearing before it, together with the province, by capitulation. The general impriſoned the Indian governor in direct violation of the articles, and committed various irregularities. After that the general beſieged Mangalore, the principal ſea port and marine arſenal of Hyder Ally, which ſurrendered on
Mar. 9. the 9th of March. Tippoo Saib, who had ſucceeded to his father Hyder Ally's deſigns as well as his power, reſolved to relinquiſh the Carnatic; and marched with above 100,000 men to reſcue Bednore. Gen. Mathews, though he had only between 2 and 3000 troops, of whom about 700 were Europeans, determined to march out of the

the capital, and give battle to Tippoo Saib in an open plain. The conteſt was ſhort; his handful of men was totally routed with great ſlaughter; and he was obliged with the broken remains of his force to take ſhelter in the fortreſs, which ſtood upon an eminence nigh the town. After a ſiege of near three weeks, the garriſon obtained terms from Tippoo Saib, ſecuring their private property upon their delivering up what was public, and promiſing them ſafe conduct to Bombay. Theſe conditions depriving them of the immenſe booty they had acquired, they determined upon eluding the ſame by dividing the treaſure among themſelves. Tippoo Saib, when the contrivance was diſcovered, conſidered the articles as annulled by this breach of faith; put both officers and men under confinement, and ſtripped them of all they poſſeſſed. When they had ſuffered many indignities, they were ſent to a fort up the country loaded with irons. The general and ſeveral officers are thought to have been put to death with circumſtances of great cruelty. The ſucceſs that followed the recovery of his capital, encouraged Tippoo Saib to beſiege Mangalore; and the garriſon was reduced to great extremity. But they were relieved by the news of the general peace, which arrived in July. 1783.

Sir Eyre Coote went by ſea to Bengal for the recovery of his health. When upon his return to Madras, he was chaſed forty-eight hours by two French men of war. The ſolicitude and fatigue he underwent in continuing nearly the whole time upon deck, occaſioned a relapſe. He got ſafe into port on the 26th of April, and died the day after his arrival, at a juncture when his abilities were greatly wanted. Though the re-

treat

1783. treat of Tippoo Saib from the Carnatic was of eminent ſervice; yet the preſidency of Madras were not ſatisfied, while the French poſſeſſed Cuddalore in the neighbourhood. General Stuart, who had ſucceeded to the command of the Britiſh army, was ordered to reduce it. The garriſon was numerous, and compoſed of choſen hardy veterans from among the French, and a number of Tippoo Saib's beſt troops whom he had left with them. The general began to beſiege the place about the beginning of June, and while he preſſed it by land, Sir Edward Hughes lay off the harbour to cut off its communication by ſea. But on the 20th of June, Mr. de Suffrein approached him with 17 ſhips of the line, two more than Sir Edward had. An engagement commenced about four in the afternoon, and laſted three hours. The French retired in the night to Pondicherry, whither the Britiſh followed them. The ſiege was continued, till the news of a general peace in Europe put an end to all hoſtilities.

When the preliminary articles of peace came to be taken into conſideration by the Britiſh parliament on the 17th of February, upward of 450 members were preſent in the houſe of commons. Great debates enſued, and the conteſt between miniſtry and oppoſition was ſupported with unabating fervor on each ſide during the whole night. When the diviſion took place at eight the enſuing morning, the propoſed miniſterial addreſs on the peace was rejected by a majority of ſixteen, 208 voting for it, and 224 againſt it, in favor of an amendment propoſed by lord John Cavendiſh. Mr. Thomas Pitt, who opened the debate, and moved for the addreſs, aſſerted, that from the papers on the table it appeared, that the laſt

diſ-

diſgraceful war had coſt the nation conſiderably more 1783.
than the glorious war of the duke of Marlborough, and the ſtill more glorious war of lord Chatham, and indeed than all the wars put together in which the nation had been engaged from the revolution to the peace of Aix la Chapelle. In the houſe of lords the addreſs moved by miniſtry was carried in their favor by 72 votes againſt 59.

When the preliminary articles between Great Britain, France and Spain, were agreed upon, a ſuſpenſion of arms took place with reſpect to Holland. But it was not till the 2d of September, that preliminary articles between the Dutch and the Britiſh were ſigned at Paris; by which a reciprocal reſtitution of all the places and territories taken on either ſide, Negapatam excepted, was agreed upon. The navigation of the eaſtern ſeas was alſo to be free and unmoleſted to the Britiſh ſhipping in all parts. Theſe two articles are the only objects worthy of ſpecial notice. Trincomale will be reſtored to the Dutch by the French, agreeable to the declaration made by Mr. de Vergennes on the 2d of December 1782, in his moſt chriſtian majeſty's name, that it was his invariable intention to reſtore to their high mightineſſes ſuch of their colonies as might remain in his hands, whenever the concluſion of a general peace would enable his majeſty to give the republic this new mark of his affection toward it. The ratification of the preliminary articles was exchanged with the duke of Mancheſter on the 29th of September by the plenipotentiaries of their high mightineſſes.

On the 3d of September, the definitive treaties be- Sept.
tween Great Britain, France and Spain, were ſigned at 3.
Verſailles

1783. Verſailles by the duke of Mancheſter, and the plenipotentiaries of the ſaid courts. On the ſame day, the definitive treaty with Great Britain and the United States of America was alſo ſigned at Paris, by David Hartley eſq; the Britiſh plenipotentiary, and the plenipotentiaries of the ſaid ſtates. On the 10th, John Adams eſq; wrote to you (as his own hand will inform you, ſhould not the letter miſcarry)—"I hope that private honeſty will not be violated in any debt, and that as much moderation may be ſhown towards the tories as poſſible. The ſtipulations ſhould be ſacred, and the recommendations at leaſt treated with decency, and ſeriouſly conſidered. I cannot help ſaying, I wiſh they could be complied with.—When I agreed that congreſs ſhould recommend, I was ſincere. I then wiſhed and ſtill wiſh, that the recommendation may be agreed to. This is unpopular no doubt: but treaties are ſolemn things, in which there ſhould be no mental reſervations. When New York and Penobſcot are evacuated, the people may be cooler—it will be an ugly bone of contention, I always dreaded it, and would have avoided it, if it had been poſſible, but it was not." The proper communication of this letter may produce, at leaſt in the Maſſachuſetts ſtate, a degree of moderation toward the royaliſts, the want of which is too glaringly evident in the proceedings of your various town-meetings.

Now that the operations of war have ceaſed, a ſubject entirely novel has offered, which engages the attention and admiration of all orders of people.

It having been obſerved, that a ball filled with inflammable air would aſcend till that and the external air

air of the atmoſphere were in equilibrium; Mr. Montgolfier made experiments, firſt with a globe of linen and paper, of 105 feet circumference, and then with one of taffety, done over with elaſtic gum, 36 feet in circumference. The aſcent of both anſwered ſo fully the expectation of every one preſent, that Mr. Montgolfier exhibited a new trial of his aeroſtatic machine, alias air balloon, at the caſtle de la Muette on the 23d of November in the afternoon. The balloon was 70 feet high and 46 in diameter, containing 60,000 cubic feet, and was capable of lifting up about ſixteen hundred weight. It had a gallery annexed to it, wherein the marquis d'Alandes and Mr. de Rozier placed themſelves. About 54 minutes after one, the ſeveral powers by which it was held down being removed, it roſe in a majeſtic manner, and the aërial navigators were ſoon out of ſight. When it was at leaſt three thouſand feet high, it remained hovering in view. Its paſſage was ſuch that all Paris had an opportunity of beholding it. When the travellers found they had paſſed the metropolis, and were over the open fields, they deſcended with the utmoſt compoſure, after a progreſs of 30,000 feet within 23 minutes. The affair was atteſted at five o'clock the ſame afternoon, by the ſignatures of the duke of Polignac, the duke of Guines, Benjamin Franklin and others. Since then Meſſrs. Charles and Robert undertook a ſimilar expedition on the 1ſt of December. At three quarters after one, they roſe with their chariot annexed to the balloon in the midſt of a profound ſilence, occaſioned by the emotion and aſtoniſhment of all parties. When they were arrived at the height of about 300 fathom, they moved in an horizontal courſe by regulating

1783. gulating their ballaſt. After 56 minutes progreſs they heard the gun, which was the ſignal of their diſappearing from the obſervers at Paris. They then ceaſed to confine themſelves to an horizontal direction; and gave themſelves up to the contemplation of the varied ſcenes in the open country beneath them. They ſhouted *vive le roy*, and heard their ſhouts re-echoed. They waved their banners, and perceived that theſe ſignals redoubled the joy and ſecurity of thoſe below. They ſeveral times deſcended near enough to be heard. They reached the plains of Neſle about half after three. Their whole paſſage made about 9 Paris leagues, which they ran over in two hours, with ſcarcely any ſenſible agitation in the air. They had not long deſcended to the ground, before the duke de Chartres, the duke Fitz-James, and a number of horſemen, who had followed them from Paris, galloped up to and joined them. How far theſe amuſements will extend, and how long they will be followed, depends upon the ſafety that attends them and the taſte of the public: but ſhould they be diſcontinued for ages, till all traditionary traces of them are loſt, they will be conſidered as lying legends in the faithful pages of modern hiſtory. It only remains to be mentioned, that that miniſterial phenomenon, which has been exhibited to the Britiſh nation ever ſince the beginning of laſt April, in the coalition between lord North and the honorable Charles Fox, ended the 19th of December by a royal meſſage, importing that it was the king's pleaſure, that they ſhould deliver to him the ſeals of their reſpective offices as his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Dec. 19.

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LETTER XIII.

Roxbury, June 30, 1783.

THE laſt year a court was conſtituted in purſuance of the 9th article of the confederation, to hear and finally determine the diſpute between the ſtates of Pennſylvania and Connecticut, reſpecting certain lands. They gave it as their opinion, that Connecticut had no right to the lands in controverſy; and that the juriſdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennſylvania, claimed by Connecticut, did of right belong to Pennſylvania. Their proceedings and ſentence were returned to congreſs, and ordered on the 3d of January to be lodged among the acts of congreſs. 1782. Jan. 3.

The apprehenſions of a ſpeedy peace, with the ſufferings of the American army under gen. Waſhington, produced the laſt December an addreſs and petition of the officers to the United States in congreſs aſſembled. The contents comprehended the following articles—preſent pay—a ſettlement of the accounts of the arrearages of pay, and ſecurity for what is due—a commutation of the half-pay allowed by different reſolutions of congreſs, for an equivalent in groſs—a ſettlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations, and compenſation—a ſettlement of the accounts of deficiencies of clothing and compenſation. The ſigning officers on the part of the Maſſachuſetts, the Connecticut, the New York, the New Jerſey, and the New Hampſhire lines, at their

1783. cantonments on Hudſon's river, ſaid—" We complain that ſhadows have been offered to us, while the ſubſtance has been gleaned by others. Our diſtreſſes are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private reſources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and diſguſted with our inceſſant applications. It would be criminal in the officers to conceal the general diſſatisfaction which prevails, and is gaining ground in the army, from the preſſure of evils and injuries, which, in the courſe of ſeven long years, have made their condition in many inſtances wretched. They therefore entreat that congreſs, to convince the army and the world, that the independence of America ſhall not be placed on the ruin of any particular claſs of her citizens, will point out a mode for immediate redreſs." Gen. M'Dougall, and colonels Brooks and Ogden, were choſen a committee to wait upon congreſs. While the buſineſs was pending, certain public creditors and others at Philadelphia, were contriving how to employ the army for the eſtabliſhing of continental funds. The financier, Mr. Robert Morris, or rather Mr. Governeur Morris, is ſuſpected to have been at the bottom of the ſcheme: the latter is allowed to be a man of great abilities, but is thought to be one of the moſt dangerous upon the continent. Officers and ſoldiers were to be thrown into ſuch a paroxyſm of rage and reſentment, as ſhould drive them into the attempt of compelling congreſs to comply with their own demands, and thoſe of the public creditors, who were to arm and join them. Letters were ſent to certain military perſons in whom the greateſt confidence was placed, that ſo affairs might be in readineſs.

neſs. Mean while reports were propagated in Philadel- I
phia, that dangerous combinations were forming in the army: whereas the troops were apparently extremely quiet, notwithſtanding their temper was very irritable on account of their long protracted ſufferings. At length, upon the arrival of a particular gentleman from Philadelphia in camp, about the 8th of March, ſuch ſentiments as the following were immediately and induſtriouſly circulated—That it was univerſally expected that the army would not diſband, till they had obtained juſtice—That the public creditors looked up to them for redreſs of their grievances, would afford them every aid, and even join them in the field if neceſſary—That ſome members of congreſs wiſhed the meaſure might take effect, in order to compel the public, particularly the delinquent ſtates, to do juſtice. When the minds of the army were thought to be prepared by theſe means, anonymous invitations were circulated on the 10th, re- M
queſting a general meeting of the officers on the next day. At the ſame inſtant many manuſcript copies of an addreſs to the officers [though anonymous, known ſince to have been drawn up by major Armſtrong] were ſcattered in every ſtate line of the army. It was in a peculiar manner calculated to inflame every breaſt, and to provoke all to unite in redreſſing their own grievances while they had arms in their hands. To ſap the influence of the commander in chief, ſhould he attempt to counteract the meaſure, they were directed to "ſuſpect the man who would adviſe to more moderation and longer forbearance." As ſoon as gen. Waſhington obtained the knowledge of theſe papers, after taking notice, in general orders of the 11th, of the anonymous

1783. invitations, he requeſted the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper repreſentation from the ſtaff of the army, to aſſemble on the following Saturday, the 15th. This he did, "in order to reſcue the foot that ſtood wavering on the precipice of deſpair, from taking, while the paſſions were inflamed, thoſe ſteps which would have led to the abyſs of miſery. He acted upon the principle, that it is eaſier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than it is to recall the haſty and fatal ſteps which have been already taken." The period previous to the officers aſſembling, was improved by the general for ſoftening them down. The treatment they had met with, the ſuſpicions they had entertained of a deſign to trick them, the ſtrong indications that had appeared of an inclination ſo to do, and other occurrences, had imbittered their ſpirits; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that he could calm and bring them to a temper which promiſed an happy iſſue to the meeting he had propoſed. He ſent for one officer after another, and talked to them privately, ſetting before them the ill conſequences of violent meaſures, and the loſs of character that would follow; and brought ſeveral to their tears. Numbers were prevailed upon to relinquiſh their intentions, and agreed to purſue moderate meaſures. A ſecond addreſs appeared on the 12th, wherein the author artfully inſinuated, that the general approved of their diſcuſſing the ſubject, which had been propoſed by himſelf in the firſt.

Mar. 15. When the officers were convened on the 15th, thoſe who were for moderate meaſures contrived that general Gates, who was thought to be too much in favor of the reverſe, ſhould be choſen preſident. After that, the

commander in chief addreſſed the meeting. The firſt and largeſt part of the ſpeech was employed in counteracting the effects produced by the anonymous papers. His excellency thus expreſſed himſelf—" The author of the addreſs is entitled to much credit for the goodneſs of his pen; and I could wiſh he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart.—He was right to inſinuate the darkeſt ſuſpicion to effect the blackeſt deſign.—My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending ſuch meaſures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an inſidious foe? Some emiſſary perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord and ſeparation between the civil and military powers of the continent?" He afterward pledged himſelf in the moſt unequivocal manner to exert all his abilities in their favor; requeſted them to rely on the faith of their country, and to place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of congreſs; and conjured them, in the name of their common country, as they valued their honor, as they reſpected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to expreſs their utmoſt deteſtation of the man, who wiſhes, under any ſpecious pretences, to overturn the liberties of their country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil diſcord, and deluge their riſing empire in blood.

It was happy for the army and country, that, when his excellency had finiſhed and withdrawn, no one roſe and obſerved, " that general Waſhington was about to quit the military line laden with honor, and that he had a conſiderable eſtate to ſupport him with dignity, but that

1783. their caſe was very different." Had ſuch ideas been thrown out, and properly enlarged upon, the meeting would probably have concluded very differently. But no counterpoiſe being offered to the ſpeech, the buſineſs of the day was finiſhed to the wiſhes of his excellency. The meeting of officers unanimouſly thanked him for his addreſs. They alſo reſolved unanimouſly, That no circumſtances of diſtreſs or danger ſhould induce a conduct that might tend to ſully the reputation and glory they had acquired—That the army continued to have an unſhaken confidence in the juſtice of congreſs and their country—That his excellency be requeſted to write to the preſident of congreſs, earneſtly entreating their ſpeedy deciſion upon the ſubjects of the officers' addreſs —That they view with abhorrence, and reject with diſdain, the infamous propoſitions contained in a late anonymous addreſs to the officers of the army.

General Waſhington, in a letter of the 18th, tranſmitted to congreſs an account of what had paſſed at the meeting of the officers, and urged in the ſtrongeſt manner their being gratified in what they had before applied for. On the 22d, congreſs reſolved that the officers ſhould be entitled to receive to the amount of five years full pay in money, or ſecurities on intereſt at ſix per cent. per ann. inſtead of half pay for life. Though this commutation was granted, the fears of the army were ſtill alive, leſt they ſhould be diſbanded or the lines be ſeparated, before their accounts were liquidated. The commander in chief was for their being diſbanded as ſoon as poſſible; but then he thought their wiſhes ſhould be conſulted, which he pronounced moderate in their mode, and perfectly compatible with the honor, dignity

Mar. 22.

and

and juſtice, due from the country; as they only involved complete ſettlement and partial payment, previous to any diſperſion. Three months pay at leaſt was univerſally expected. 1783.

By the 24th of March, congreſs received a letter of Feb. 5th, from the marquis de la Fayette, announcing a general peace, and a copy of orders given by count D'Eſtaing, for the purpoſe of putting a ſtop to all hoſtilities by ſea: hereupon they directed the marine agent immediately to recall all armed veſſels cruiſing under commiſſions from the United States of America. The marquis's letter was dated from Cadiz: in it he wrote— "forty-nine ſhips and twenty thouſand men are now here, whom count D'Eſtaing was to join with the combined forces in the Weſt Indies, and during the ſummer they were to co-operate with our American army. Nay, it had lately been granted, that while count D'Eſtaing was elſewhere, I ſhould enter St. Lawrence river at the head of a French corps. It is known that I ever was bent upon the addition of Canada to the United States." 24.

On the 4th of April, capt. John Derby commanding the Aſtrea, arrived at Salem from Nantz in 22 days, and brought with him a printed copy of a declaration of the American miniſters, given at Paris the 20th of February, and ſigned John Adams, B. Franklin, John Jay. It mentions, that the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace ſigned the 20th of January, between his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the king of Great Britain, were in due form exchanged by their miniſters on the third of February; from which day the ſeveral terms ſpecified for the ceſſation of hoſtilities are to be computed relative to all Britiſh and American veſſels and April 4.

1783. effects. Thus the ſame captain, who carried to Great Britain the firſt news of actual hoſtilities at Lexington, brought to the Maſſachuſetts the firſt news of the ratifications of the articles of peace being exchanged.

A copy of the articles for concluding a general peace between Great Britain and America, being received from Philadelphia, were publiſhed together with the declaration in the Boſton papers of the 10th. The people at large are now fully gratified with the knowledge of all the particulars, expreſſed in the following words;

April 10.

Articles agreed upon by and between Richard Oſwald eſq. the commiſſioner of his Britannic majeſty for treating of peace with the commiſſioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his ſaid majeſty, on the one part; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, four of the ſaid commiſſioners of the ſaid ſtates for treating of peace with the commiſſioner of his ſaid majeſty, on their behalf, on the other part: to be inſerted in, and to conſtitute the treaty of peace propoſed to be concluded between the crown of Great-Britain, and the ſaid United States; but which treaty is not to be concluded until terms of a peace ſhall be agreed upon between Great-Britain and France, and his Britannic majeſty ſhall be ready to conclude ſuch treaty accordingly.

WHEREAS reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendſhip between ſtates; it is agreed to form the articles of the propoſed treaty on ſuch principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (thoſe ſeeds of diſcord) being excluded, ſuch a beneficial and ſatisfactory intercourſe between

between the two countries may be eſtabliſhed, as to pro- 178
miſe and ſecure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

ARTICLE I. His Britannic majeſty acknowledges the ſaid United States, viz. New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, to be free, ſovereign, and independent ſtates; that he treats with them as ſuch; and for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the ſame, and every part thereof; and that all diſputes which might ariſe in future, on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and ſhall be their boundaries, viz.

ARTICLE II. From the north-weſt angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the ſource of Saint Croix river to the Highlands, along the ſaid Highlands which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river Saint Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-weſtern-moſt head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due weſt on ſaid latitude until it ſtrikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of ſaid river into lake Ontario; through the middle of ſaid lake, until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of ſaid communication into lake Erie; through the middle of ſaid lake, until it arrives at the water-communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence along the middle of

ſaid

1783. ſaid water-communication into the lake Huron; thence through the middle of ſaid lake to the water-communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior, northward of the iſles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of ſaid Long Lake, and the water-communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the ſaid Lake of the Woods; thence through the ſaid lake to the moſt north-weſtern point thereof, and from thence on a due weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſſippi, until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude:—ſouth by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the line laſt-mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river, to the Atlantic ocean:—eaſt by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource; and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from thoſe which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt-Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean; excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, or heretofore

tofore have been, within the limits of the ſaid province 1783.
of Nova-Scotia.

ARTICLE III. It is agreed, that the people of the United States ſhall continue to enjoy, unmoleſted, the right to take fiſh of every kind on the Grand Bank; and on all other banks of Newfoundland; alſo in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the ſea, where the inhabitants of both countries uſed at any time heretofore to fiſh. And alſo that the inhabitants of the United States ſhall have liberty to take fiſh of every kind on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland, as Britiſh fiſhermen ſhall uſe (but not to dry or cure the ſame on that iſland) and alſo on the coaſts, bays, and creeks of all other of his Britannic majeſty's dominions in America; and that the American fiſhermen ſhall have liberty to dry and cure fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova-Scotia, Magdalen iſlands, and Labrador, ſo long as the ſame ſhall remain unſettled; but ſo ſoon as the ſame, or either of them, ſhall be ſettled, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid fiſhermen to dry or cure fiſh at ſuch ſettlement, without a previous agreement for that purpoſe with the inhabitants, proprietors or poſſeſſors of the ground.

ARTICLE IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either ſide ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in ſterling money of all *bonâ fide* debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE V. It is agreed, that the Congreſs ſhall earneſtly recommend it to the legiſlatures of the reſpective ſtates, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates, rights and properties, which have been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects: and alſo of the eſtates,

rights

1783. rights and properties of perſons reſident in diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty's arms, and who have not borne arms againſt the ſaid United States: and that perſons of any other deſcription ſhall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to obtain the reſtitution of ſuch of their eſtates, rights and properties, as may have been confiſcated: and that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates a reconſideration and reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to render the ſaid laws or acts perfectly conſiſtent, not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation, which, on the return of the bleſſings of peace, ſhould univerſally prevail.—And that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates, that the eſtates, rights and properties of ſuch laſt-mentioned perſons ſhall be reſtored to them, they refunding to any perſons who may be now in poſſeſſion, the *bonâ fide* price (where any has been given) which ſuch perſons may have paid on purchaſing any of the ſaid lands, rights or properties; ſince the confiſcation.—And it is agreed, that all perſons who have any intereſt in confiſcated lands, either by debts, marriage ſettlements or otherwiſe, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment in the proſecution of their juſt rights.

Article VI. That there ſhall be no future confiſcations made, nor any proſecutions commenced againſt any perſon or perſons, for or by reaſon of the part which he or they may have taken in the preſent war, and that no perſon ſhall on that account, ſuffer any future loſs or damage, either in his perſon, liberty or property; and that

that thoſe who may be in confinement on ſuch charges 1783.
at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, and the proſecutions ſo commenced be diſcontinued.

ARTICLE VII. There ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majeſty and the ſaid ſtates, and between the ſubjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hoſtilities both by ſea and land ſhall then immediately ceaſe: all priſoners on both ſides ſhall be ſet at liberty, and his Britannic majeſty ſhall with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſing any deſtruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons and fleets from the ſaid United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the ſame; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein: and ſhall alſo order and cauſe all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the ſaid ſtates, or their citizens, which in the courſe of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith reſtored and delivered to the proper ſtates and perſons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE VIII. The navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX. In caſe it ſhould ſo happen that any place or territory belonging to Great-Britain, or to the United States, ſhould be conquered by the arms of either, from the other, before the arrival of theſe articles in America, it is agreed that the ſame ſhall be reſtored

1783. ſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two.

RICHARD OSWALD. (L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)
JOHN JAY, (L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS. (L. S.)

Witneſs,
CALEB WHITEFOORD, ſecretary to the Britiſh commiſſion.
W. T. FRANKLIN, ſecretary to the American commiſſion.

By the public prints we learn, that the following are the principal articles of peace between the other powers. France is to retain Tobago and Senegal: but is to reſtore to Great Britain, fort James on the river Gambia, Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis and Montſerrat. Great Britain is to reſtore to France, Goree, St. Lucie, St. Pierre and Miquelon. The fiſhery of France and Great Britain on the coaſt of Newfoundland, to remain on the ſame footing on which they were by the treaty of 1763, except that part of the coaſt of Bonaviſta, at Cape St. John's, which is to belong to the Britiſh. France is to be re-eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt Indies, as well in Bengal, as on the eaſt and weſt coaſt of the Peninſula, as regulated

lated by the treaty of 1763. The articles of all pre- 1
ceding treaties concerning the demolition of Dunkirk, are to be ſuppreſſed. Spain is to retain Minorca and Weſt Florida; and Great Britain cedes Eaſt Florida to Spain. An agreement is to be entered into between Spain and Great Britain, about the cutting of wood in the bay of Honduras. St. Euſtatia, Demerara and Iſſequibo, are to be reſtored by the French to the United Provinces.

At 12 o'clock on the 19th of April, the day which completed the eighth year of the war, the ceſſation of hoſtilities between the United States and Great Britain was proclaimed in the American army by order of gen. Waſhington.

Though it is ſtipulated by the 7th article of the proviſional treaty, that "his Britannic majeſty ſhall, without carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons and fleets from the United States;" yet a conſiderable number of negroes belonging to the citizens of theſe ſtates were carried off. This produced a conference between general Waſhington and Sir Guy Carleton on the ſubject, at Taapan on the 6th of May. Sir Guy principally inſiſted, that he conceived it could not have been the intention of the Britiſh government, by the treaty of peace, to reduce themſelves to the neceſſity of violating their faith to the negroes, who came into the Britiſh lines under the proclamations of his predeceſſors. He forbore to expreſs his ſentiments on the propriety of theſe proclamations; but urged that delivering up the negroes to their former maſters, would be delivering them up, ſome poſſibly to executions, and others to

1783. ſevere puniſhments, which in his opinion would be a diſhonorable violation of the public faith pledged to the negroes in the proclamations. He obſerved, that if the ſending away of the negroes ſhould hereafter be declared an infraction of the treaty, compenſation muſt be made to the owners by the crown of Great Britain; and that he had taken meaſures to provide for this, by directing a regiſter to be kept of all the negroes who were ſent off, ſpecifying the name, age and occupation of the ſlave, and the name and place of reſidence of his former maſter. He remarked, that he was not by the treaty held to *deliver* up any property, but was only reſtrained from *carrying* it away. He concluded the converſation on the ſubject by ſaying, he imagined that the mode of compenſating, as well as the accounts and other points with reſpect to which there was no expreſs proviſion made by the treaty, muſt be adjudged by commiſſioners to be hereafter appointed by the two nations. On the 26th of May congreſs reſolved, that the American miniſters plenipotentiary for negotiating the peace ſhould be directed to remonſtrate on the ſubject to the court of Great Britain, and to take proper meaſures for obtaining ſuch reparation as the nature of the caſe would admit. The ſame day they reſolved, that gen. Waſhington ſhould be inſtructed to grant furloughs to the non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers who had inliſted for the war, together with a proportionable number of commiſſioned officers of the different grades; and that the general and ſecretary at war ſhould take the proper meaſures for conducting thoſe troops home, in ſuch a manner as might be moſt convenient to themſelves and to the ſtates through which they might paſs; and

May 26.

and that the men thus furloughed ſhould be allowed to take their arms with them. Something of a ſimilar reſolution was taken reſpecting the North Carolina troops under gen. Greene. You may think it worth recording, that Greene wrote on the 2d of February from Charleſtown—"Ever ſince the enemy have been gone, we have been obliged to ſubſiſt the troops at the point of the bayonet. The ſtate agents dropped the buſineſs the moment Charleſtown was evacuated, nor could the authority or influence of government induce them to continue a moment longer." More than three weeks before the ſoldiers were ordered to be furloughed, congreſs called upon the reſpective ſtates to forward the collection of their taxes, that ſo the financier might have wherewith to advance them a part of their pay before they left the field; and he at the ſame time was directed to make the neceſſary arrangements for carrying the views of congreſs into execution. 1783.

The reſolve of congreſs for furloughing the ſoldiers inliſted for the war, and a proportionate number of officers, and the order of the commander in chief founded upon it on the 2d of June, excited aſtoniſhment and chagrin in the generals and officers commanding regiments and corps in the cantonment on Hudſon's river. They addreſſed their commander upon the occaſion on the 5th; ſolicited his further aid on their behalf; and entreated that his order might be ſo far varied, as that no officer or ſoldier ſhould be obliged to receive a furlough, until congreſs could be apprized of the wretched ſituation into which the army muſt be plunged by a conformity to it. The next day general Waſhington returned them a ſatisfactory anſwer. He expreſſed his hope, June 5.

1783. that the financier's notes for three months pay to the army would ſoon arrive, and that the ſettlement of accounts might be completed in a very few days; by which the two ſubjects of the army's complaint would be removed.

Affairs were ſo regulated, that by the middle of June the ſoldiers were daily returning home, with ſuch good order as did them great honor. On the 18th of the month, general Waſhington addreſſed a circular letter to the ſeveral governors and preſidents of the United States, announcing his intended reſignation of the command of the army, and expreſſing his thoughts as to thoſe wiſe and ſalutary meaſures, which he thought could alone make the ſtates a great and flouriſhing people. "There are four things (he ſaid) which, I humbly conceive, are eſſential to the well-being, I may venture to ſay, to the exiſtence of the United States as an independent power. 1ſt. An indiſſoluble union of the ſtates under one fœderal head. 2dly, A ſacred regard to public juſtice. 3dly, The adoption of a proper peace eſtabliſhment. And 4thly, The prevalence of that pacific and friendly diſpoſition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics; to make thoſe mutual conceſſions which are requiſite to the general proſperity; and, in ſome inſtances, to ſacrifice their individual advantages to the intereſt of the community. Theſe are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character muſt be ſupported." Toward the cloſe his words were—"It remains then, to be my final and only requeſt, that your excellency will communicate theſe ſentiments to your legiſlature, at their

June 18.

next

next meeting; and that they may be conſidered as the legacy of one who has ardently wiſhed, on all occaſions, to be uſeful to his country, and who, even in the ſhade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it."

A committee of congreſs having been appointed to inquire fully into the proceedings of the office of finance, reported on the 17th of June, that in examining the reforms which had been made in the public expenditures, their attention was neceſſarily called to the expenditures of former years; and that in comparing theſe with the preſent, and making every allowance for the difference of times and circumſtances, they were of opinion, that the order and œconomy which had been introduced ſince the eſtabliſhment of this office, had been attended with great ſavings of public money, as well as many other beneficial conſequences. The ſame was ordered to be entered on the journals.

The extravagance, waſte and enormities in expences and charges among the Britiſh, being the ſubjects of converſation in company with ſeveral of the New England delegates; theſe were led to remark upon the enormous expences of the American army through waſte, bad management, and other cauſes. After that, two of the Maſſachuſetts delegates acknowledged, that it coſt congreſs at the rate of 18 millions per annum hard dollars, to carry on the war till Mr. Morris was choſen financier, and that then it coſt them but about five millions.

LETTER XIV.

Roxbury, April 9, 1784.

1783. ADVICE being ſent by expreſs to Philadelphia from Lancaſter, 67 miles diſtant, that about eighty of the Pennſylvania levies ſtationed there, were marching to the city in defiance of their officers, to ſeek a redreſs of grievances from the executive council of the ſtate, the ſame was communicated to congreſs; who appointed a committee to confer with the council on the 19th of June. The committee urged the calling out a detachment of militia to intercept the mutineers on their march, and ſuggeſted the danger of their being ſuffered to join the troops in the barracks, who a few days before had ſent an inſolent and threatening meſſage to congreſs, in the name of a board of ſergeants. The council ſhowing a reluctance to comply, from an opinion that the militia would not be willing to act, till ſome outrage was committed by the troops, the aſſiſtant ſecretary at war was ſent by the committee to meet the mutineers, and endeavour to engage them to return to Lancaſter. They however perſiſted, and arrived on the morning of the 20th at Philadelphia. They proceeded to the barracks, where were quartered about 150 veterans lately arrived from Carolina, the corps of artillery and others of different corps, amounting to upward of
June 21. 300 in the whole. The day following, the troops, with fixed bayonets and drums beating, marched to the ſtate-houſe,

houſe, the ſeat of congreſs, and of the ſupreme executive 1783.
council of Pennſylvania. They placed guards at every door, ſent in a written meſſage to the preſident and council, and threatened to let looſe an enraged ſoldiery upon them, if they were not gratified as to their demand within twenty minutes. No addreſs was made to congreſs; but for ſome hours their ſituation was not very agreeable, while they were ſurrounded by about 300 men, with guards placed at their doors, and the ſoldiers from every appearance ſeemingly prepared for the worſt purpoſes. Before the opportunity preſented (after being about three hours under dureſſe) of retiring without any other inſult offered to them collectively or individually, they reſolved, that the authority of the United States had been groſsly inſulted by the armed ſoldiers—that the committee confer with the executive council, and that in caſe it ſhould appear to the committee, that there was no ſatisfactory ground for expecting adequate exertions, by the Pennſylvania ſtate, for ſupporting the dignity of the fœderal government; the preſident, on the advice of the committee, ſhould ſummon the members of congreſs to meet on Thurſday the 26th at Trenton or Princeton—and that the ſecretary at war ſhould communicate to the commander in chief, the ſtate and diſpoſition of the troops in Philadelphia, that ſo he might take immediate meaſures to diſpatch to the city ſuch force as he ſhould judge expedient for ſuppreſſing any enſuing diſturbances. The committee conferred with the council, without receiving ſatisfaction, while the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſoldiery continued: they therefore adviſed to the ſummoning of congreſs to Trenton or Princeton. When the inhabitants of Princeton

1783. and its vicinity knew that they were to be honored with the preſence of congreſs, they reſolved to ſupport order and good government, and exerted themſelves to accommodate the repreſentatives of the United States.

The moment general Waſhipgton was informed by expreſs of the mutiny at Philadelphia, he ordered a detachment of 1500 men to be put in motion immediately; and gave the command of them to gen. Robert Howe. Upon their arrival, the diſturbances were ſoon quieted, without bloodſhed, and ſeveral of the mutineers were taken up, tried and condemned, two to ſuffer death, and four to receive corporal puniſhment; but were afterward pardoned by congreſs, as they did not appear to have been principals in the mutiny, and as no lives were loſt, nor any deſtruction of property committed. Congreſs were ſenſible to what it was partly owing, that they had been obliged to change their reſi-
July 11. dence; they therefore directed, on the 11th of July, the ſuperintendent of finance to report to them, the reaſons why the troops lately furloughed, did not receive part of their pay previous thereto, agreeably to the intention of congreſs. The financier's notes with which ſuch payment was at length made, ſoon paſſed at a conſiderable diſcount, notwithſtanding the receivers in the ſeveral ſtates were inſtructed to take them in payment of taxes; as alſo to take them up whenever tendered, if they had public money in their hands: thus the ſoldiery had experience of a freſh hardſhip.

Aug. 7. On the 7th of Auguſt, the repreſentatives of the United States "reſolved (unanimouſly, ten ſtates being preſent) That an equeſtrian ſtatue of general Waſhington, be erected at the place where the reſidence of congreſs

greſs ſhall be eſtabliſhed :—That the ſtatue be of bronze 1783.
—The general to be repreſented in a Roman dreſs, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head encircled with a laurel wreath. The ſtatue to be ſupported by a marble pedeſtal, on which are to be repreſented, in baſſo relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which general Waſhington commanded in perſon, viz. The evacuation of Boſton—the capture of the Heſſians at Trenton—the battle of Princeton—the action of Monmouth, and the ſurrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedeſtal, to be engraved as follows—The United States in congreſs aſſembled, ordered this ſtatue to be erected in the year of our Lord 1783, in honor of George Waſhington, the illuſtrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war which vindicated and ſecured their liberty, ſovereignty and independence."

Toward the end of July, the general made a tour to the northward as far as Crown Point. When returned he waited upon congreſs agreeable to invitation. He was introduced by two members, when the preſident ad- 26.
dreſſed him with—" Sir, Congreſs feel particular pleaſure in ſeeing your excellency, and in congratulating you on the ſucceſs of a war, in which you have acted ſo conſpicuous a part." After ſome further affectionate and commendatory expreſſions, he cloſed with ſaying—" Hoſtilities have now ceaſed, but your country ſtill needs your ſervices. She wiſhes to avail herſelf of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be neceſſary for her in the time of peace. For this reaſon your attendance at congreſs has been requeſted. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency, and

1783. to receive your aſſiſtance in preparing and digeſting plans relative to thoſe important objects." The commander in chief made a reply that was highly acceptable. He alſo removed with his family to Rocky-hill, near Princeton, that he might the more conveniently confer with the committee.

Sept. 25. Congreſs in a proclamation publiſhed to the United States, the treaty of amity and commerce concluded on the 3d of April 1783, between the king of Sweden and the United States of North America, for the ſpace of fifteen years, by the honorable Benjamin Franklin, commiſſioned by the United States, and a miniſter plenipotentiary named for the purpoſe by the ſaid king. By the 7th article, the reſident ſubjects of each party are permitted ſafely to navigate their veſſels, without any regard to thoſe to whom the merchandiſes and cargoes may belong; and to frequent the places and ports of powers, enemies to the contracting parties, without being in any wiſe moleſted, and to carry on a commerce not only directly from the ports of an enemy to a neutral port, but even from one port of an enemy, to another port of an enemy, whether it be under the juriſdiction of the ſame or of different princes. Free ſhips are to make merchandiſes free; and every thing (contraband goods alway excepted) on board of ſhips belonging to ſubjects of the one or the other of the contracting parties, is to be conſidered as free, even though the cargo or a part of it belongs to the enemies of one or both. Perſons on board a free ſhip, though enemies to both or either of the parties, are not to be taken out of the free ſhip, unleſs they are ſoldiers in the actual ſervice of the ſaid enemies. Article the 9th ſpecifies

arms, great guns, and various warlike inſtruments, under 1783.
the name of contraband or prohibited goods, and then cloſes with—" and all other like kinds of arms and inſtruments of war for the uſe of troops." By the 10th article no goods are to be conſidered as contraband, which have not been *worked* into the form of any inſtrument or thing for the purpoſe of war by land or ſea, much leſs ſuch as have been prepared or wrought up for *any other* uſe, all which are to be reckoned free goods; as alſo all thoſe which are not comprehended and particularly mentioned in the foregoing article. Such goods may be freely tranſported by the ſubjects of either party, even to places belonging to an enemy, ſuch only excepted as are beſieged, blocked or inveſted; and thoſe places only are to be conſidered as ſuch, which are nearly ſurrounded by one of the belligerent powers.

The eighth of October was marked by the attendance Oct.
of a deputation from the yearly meeting of the people 8.
called quakers, who being admitted, delivered their addreſs to congreſs and withdrew. By ſuch act that American body of people acknowledged the independent ſovereignty of the United States, and implicitly profeſſed their own allegiance. The meeting was held in Philadelphia, for Pennſylvania, New Jerſey, Delaware, and the weſtern parts of Maryland and Virginia. The addreſs was dated the 4th of the 10th month, and was ſigned by more than five hundred members. It related to the ſlave trade. That reſpectable body had at length proceeded ſo far in the cauſe of general liberty, without regarding country or complexion, as to enjoin the members of their ſociety to liberate all ſuch as they held in bondage: which injunction was generally complied with,

and

1783. and the African thereby reſtored to his natural and juſt right. They feared however, that ſome, forgetful of the days of diſtreſs, were prompted by avaricious motives to renew the trade for ſlaves to the African coaſts, contrary to every humane and righteous conſideration, and in oppoſition to the ſolemn declarations often repeated in favor of univerſal liberty. They therefore earneſtly ſolicited the chriſtian interpoſition of congreſs, for the diſcouragement and prevention of ſo obvious an evil.

Oct. 18. Ten days after the delivery of their addreſs, congreſs by proclamation directed that the 11th of December ſhould be ſet apart as a day of public thankſgiving. On the ſame day they "reſolved, That two pieces of the field ordnance taken from the Britiſh army at the Cowpens, Auguſta, or Eutaw, be preſented by the commander in chief of the armies of the United States, to major general Greene, as a public teſtimonial of the wiſdom, fortitude and military ſkill which diſtinguiſhed his command in the ſouthern department, and of the eminent ſervices which, amidſt complicated difficulties and dangers, and againſt an enemy greatly ſuperior in numbers, he has ſucceſsfully performed for his country: And that a memorandum be engraved on the ſaid pieces of ordnance, expreſſive of the ſubſtance of this reſolution." The commander in chief was alſo to be informed, that gen. Greene had the permiſſion of congreſs to viſit his family at Rhode Iſland. They cloſed the buſineſs of the day by iſſuing a proclamation. In that the armies of the United States were applauded for having diſplayed in the progreſs of an arduous and difficult war every military and patriotic virtue—for their fortitude and magna-

magnanimity in the moſt trying ſcenes of diſtreſs—and 1783.
for a ſeries of heroic and illuſtrious atchievements, exalting them to a high rank among the moſt zealous and ſucceſsful defenders of the rights and liberties of mankind. After giving them the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful ſervices, congreſs declared it to be their pleaſure, that ſuch part of the fœderal armies as ſtood engaged to ſerve during the war, ſhould from and after the third day of November next, be abſolutely diſcharged from the ſaid ſervice. On the 29th, the commander in chief was directed by them to diſcharge all the troops in the ſervice of the United States, who were in Pennſylvania or to the ſouthward thereof, except the garriſon of Fort-Pitt.

On the 31ſt of October, the honorable Peter John 31.
Van Berckel, miniſter plenipotentiary from their high mightineſſes the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted by congreſs to an audience. The chevalier de la Luzerne, general Waſhington, the ſuperintendent of finance, many other gentlemen of eminence, together with a number of ladies of the firſt character, aſſembled in the chapel of Princeton college to participate of the joys the audience ſhould afford; and for which their ſpirits were put into proper tone, by the arrival, a little before Mr. Van Berckel entered, of an authentic account that the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was concluded. Mr. Van Berckel upon being introduced, addreſſed congreſs in a ſpeech, which was ſo gracefully pronounced as to pleaſe thoſe who could not underſtand it, becauſe of its not being in Engliſh. He then delivered a letter from their high mightineſſes. The preſident returned an anſwer

to

1783. to the miniſter; in the cloſe of which it was obſerved, that the United States had received the moſt diſtinguiſhed proofs of regard and friendſhip from his illuſtrious family. The aſſembly after that ſeparated; and the day cloſed with convivial meetings.

Nov. 2. On the 2d of November, were iſſued from Rocky Hill, general Waſhington's farewell orders to the armies of the United States. Having taken notice of congreſs's proclamation of October the 18th, he ſaid—"It only remains for the commander in chief to addreſs himſelf once more, and that for the laſt time, to the armies of the United States (however widely diſperſed the individuals who compoſed them may be) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.—But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of thoſe he holds moſt dear, he wiſhes to indulge himſelf a few moments in calling to mind a ſlight review of the paſt:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future proſpects—of adviſing the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be purſued;—and he will conclude the addreſs, by expreſſing the obligations he feels himſelf under for the ſpirited and able aſſiſtance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office." His cloſing words were—"And being now to conclude theſe his laſt public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a ſhort time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has ſo long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies.—May ample juſtice be done them here, and may the choiceſt of heaven's favors, both here and hereafter,

hereafter, attend thoſe, who, under the divine auſpices, 1783
have ſecured innumerable bleſſings for others! With theſe wiſhes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from ſervice.—The curtain of ſeparation will ſoon be drawn—and the military ſcene to him will be cloſed for ever!"

In Auguſt Sir Guy Carleton received his final orders Aug
for the evacuation of New York. On the 17th he in- 17.
formed the preſident of congreſs, that he ſhould loſe no time in fulfilling his majeſty's commands. But he could aſſign no preciſe period. The violence of the Americans, which broke out ſoon after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, increaſed the numbers of thoſe that looked to him for eſcape from threatened deſtruction. The newſpapers contained repeated menaces from committees formed in various towns, cities and diſtricts, and even at Philadelphia; which augmented the terrors of the loyaliſts, ſo that Sir Guy could not in honor leave any of thoſe behind, who were deſirous of quitting the country. He expreſſed his concern at congreſs's having ſuſpended to that late hour the recommendations ſtipulated by the treaty. The committee of congreſs had reported, on the 30th of May, after a preamble, "therefore, reſolved, that the ſeveral ſtates are hereby required to remove all obſtructions which may interpoſe in the way of the entire and faithful execution of the fourth and ſixth articles; and that it be at the ſame time earneſtly recommended to them, to take into ſerious conſideration the fifth article, and to conform to the ſeveral matters therein contained, with that ſpirit of moderation and liberality, which ought ever to characterize the deliberations and meaſures of a free and enlightened

1783. lightened nation." Inſtead of adopting and publiſhing the reſolution, a motion was made that the report be committed, to which 22 members of congreſs preſent agreed: the New York delegate Mr. (formerly colonel) Hamilton, one of the committee, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his firmneſs and conſiſtency in giving it his ſingle negative. The inveteracy diſcovered in the ſtates againſt the parties alluded to in the fifth article, undoubtedly influenced the minds of ſeveral to vote for the commitment, while the inclination of others prompted them to uſe that as an argument for their ſo voting. The averſion of the people to a compliance with ſuch recommendations, had they been publiſhed, did not proceed altogether from the rancor of the heart; but intereſt influenced. Debts, which had never been contracted, were claimed, and paid out of the confiſcated eſtates: in ſome inſtances by thoſe who were debtors to the parties ſuffering by the confiſcations. Confiſcated property to a conſiderable amount had been purchaſed by many at a trifling expence. Had the recommendations been paſſed and complied with, ſcenes of notorious injuſtice would have been laid open, the moſt beneficial bargains ſuperſeded, and the payment of a number of ſimple contract and bond debts ſpeedily required.

Nov. 25. Tueſday, November the 25th, was the day agreed upon for the evacuation of New York. To prevent every diſorder which might otherwiſe enſue from ſuch an event, the American troops under the command of general Knox marched from Haerlem to the Bowery lane in the morning. They remained there till about one o'clock, when the Britiſh forces left the poſts in the Bowery, and the Americans marched forward and took

poſſeſſion of the city. This being effected, Knox and 1783
a number of citizens on horſeback rode to the Bowery to receive their excellencies general Waſhington and governor Clinton, who, with their ſuits, made their public entry into the city on horſeback; followed by the lieut. governor and the members of the council, for the temporary government of the ſouthern diſtrict, four abreaſt—general Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreaſt—citizens on horſeback, eight abreaſt—the ſpeaker of the aſſembly and citizens on foot, eight abreaſt. The proceſſion ceaſed at Cape's tavern. The governor gave a public dinner at Frances's tavern; at which the commander in chief and other general officers were preſent. The arrangements for the whole buſineſs were ſo well made and executed, that the moſt admirable tranquillity ſucceeded through the day and night. On Dec
Monday, the governor gave an elegant entertainment 1
to the French ambaſſador, the chevalier de la Luzerne. General Waſhington, the principal officers of the New York ſtate and of the army, and upward of a hundred gentlemen, were preſent. Magnificent fire works, infinitely exceeding every thing of the kind before ſeen in the United States, were exhibited at the Bowling-green in the Broad-way, in the evening of Tueſday, in celebration of the definitive treaty of peace. They commenced by a dove's deſcending with the *olive branch*, and ſetting fire to a marron battery.

On Thurſday noon, the principal officers of the army 4
aſſembled at Frances's (alias Black Sam's) tavern, to take a final leave of their much-loved commander in chief. After awhile, gen. Waſhington came in, and calling for a glaſs of wine, thus addreſſed them—"With

an

1783. an heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I moſt devoutly wiſh, that your latter days may be as proſperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he ſaid—"I cannot come to each of you to take my leave; but ſhall be obliged to you, if each will come and take me by the hand." General Knox being neareſt turned to him; Waſhington with tears rolling down his cheeks, graſped Knox's hand, and then kiſſed him: he did the ſame by every ſucceeding officer, and by ſome other gentlemen who were preſent. The paſſions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in this intereſting and diſtreſsful ſcene. The whole company were in tears. When Waſhington left the room, and paſſed through the corps of light infantry about two o'clock in his way to Whitehall, the others followed, walking in a ſolemn, mute, and mournful proceſſion, with heads hanging down and dejected countenances, till he embarked in his barge for Powle's Hook. When he had entered, he turned, took off his hat, and with that bid them a ſilent adieu. They paid him the ſame affectionate compliment, and the barge puſhing off, returned from Whitehall in like manner as they had advanced.

Though general Waſhington was not ſtayed in his progreſs to Philadelphia, by the congreſs, who, on the 1ſt of November, had elected the honorable Thomas Mifflin preſident, and three days after had adjourned to meet at Annapolis in Maryland on the 26th; yet it was the 8th of December at noon, before general Waſhington arrived at the capital of Pennſylvania. When his intention of quitting the army was known, he was complimented

plimented and received with the utmoſt reſpect and affection, by all orders of men, both in the civil and military line. He remained ſome days in Philadelphia. While in the city he delivered in his accounts to the comptroller, down to December the 13th, *all in his own hand writing*, and every entry made in the moſt particular manner, ſtating the occaſion of each charge, ſo as to give the leaſt trouble in examining and comparing them with the vouchers with which they were attended.

The heads are as follows, copied from the folio manuſcript paper book, in the file of the treaſury office N° 3700, being a black box of tin containing, under lock and key, both that and the vouchers.

	£.	s.	d.
Total of expenditures from 1775 to 1783, excluſive of proviſions from commiſſaries and contractors, and of liquors, &c. from them and others - - - -	3387	14	4
* Secret intelligence and ſervice - -	1982	10	0
Spent in reconnoitring and travelling	1874	8	8
Miſcellaneous charges - - - -	2952	10	1
Expended beſides, dollars according to the ſcale of depreciation - - -	6114	14	0
	£. 16,311	17	1

Note, 104,364 of the dollars were received after March 1780, and although credited at 40 for one, many did not fetch at the rate of a hundred for one, while 27,775 of them are returned without deducting any thing from the above account [and therefore actually made a preſent of to the public.]

* 200 guineas advanced to general M'Dougall are not included in the 1982l. 10s. not being yet ſettled, but included in ſome of the other charges, and ſo reckoned in the general ſum.

1783. [Gen. Washington's account] From June 1775 to the end of June 1783 — £. 16,311 17 1
Expenditure from July 1, 1783, to Dec. 13 — 1717 5 4
[Added afterward] from thence to Dec. 28 — 213 8 4
Mrs. Washington's travelling expences in coming to the general and returning — 1064 1 0

£. 19,306 11 9

lawful money of Virginia, the same as the Massachusetts, or

£. 14,479 18 9¾ sterling.

The general entered in his book—"I find upon the final adjustment of these accounts, that I am a considerable loser—my disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts, and the money I had upon hand of my own: for besides the sums I carried with me to Cambridge in 1775, I received monies afterwards on private account in 1777 and since, which (except small sums that I had occasion now and then to apply to private uses) were all expended in the public service: through hurry, I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to account for the deficiency) I have omitted to charge the same, whilst every *debit* against *me* is here credited. July 1, 1783."

Happy would it have been for the United States (you will be likely to add—and for Great Britain) had each person who has handled public money been equally exact and punctual!

General Washington, after delivering in his accounts, hastened to Annapolis, where he arrived on the evening
Dec. 20. of the 19th of December. The next day he informed congress of his arrival in that city, with the intention of asking leave to resign the commission he had the honor

of

of holding in their ſervice, and deſired to know their 178
pleaſure in-what manner it would be moſt proper to offer his reſignation—whether in writing or at an audience. They reſolved that it ſhould be at a public audience, the following Tueſday at twelve o'clock. The general had been ſo reſerved with regard to the time of his intended reſignation, that congreſs had not the leaſt apprehenſion of its being either ſo ſoon or ſo ſudden.

When the day was arrived, and the hour approached 23.
for fixing the patriotic character of the AMERICAN CHIEF, the gallery was filled with a beautiful group of elegant ladies, and ſome graced the floor of congreſs. On this were likewiſe the governor, council and legiſlature of Maryland, ſeveral general officers, the conſul general of France, and the reſpectable citizens of Annapolis. Congreſs were ſeated and covered, as repreſentatives of the ſovereignty of the Union, the ſpectators were uncovered and ſtanding. The general was introduced to a chair by the ſecretary, who, after a decent interval, ordered ſilence. A ſhort pauſe enſued, when the honorable Thomas Mifflin, the preſident, informed the general, that "the United States in congreſs aſſembled were prepared to receive his communications:" on which he roſe with great dignity, and delivered this addreſs——"Mr. Preſident, The great events on which my reſignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my ſincere congratulations to Congreſs, and of preſenting myſelf before them, to ſurrender into their hands the truſt committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the ſervice of my country.

1783. "Happy in the confirmation of our independence and ſovereignty, and pleaſed with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a reſpectable nation, I reſign with ſatisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidenee in my abilities to accompliſh ſo arduous a taſk; which however was ſuperſeded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cauſe, the ſupport of the ſupreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The ſucceſsful termination of the war has verified the moſt ſanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interpoſition of Providence, and the aſſiſtance I have received from my countrymen, increaſes with every review of the momentous conteſt.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I ſhould do injuſtice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar ſervices and diſtinguiſhed merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my perſon during the war. It was impoſſible the choice of confidential officers to compoſe my family ſhould have been more fortunate. Permit me, ſir, to recommend in particular, thoſe who have continued in the ſervice to the preſent moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congreſs.

"I conſider it as an indiſpenſable duty to cloſe this laſt act of my official life by commending the intereſts of our deareſt country to the protection of Almighty God, and thoſe who have the ſuperintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finiſhed the work aſſigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affec-

tionate farewel to this auguſt body, under whoſe orders I have ſo long acted, I here offer my commiſſion, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

The general was ſo powerfully impreſſed, with the great and intereſting ſcenes that crowded in upon his imagination while ſpeaking, that he would have been ſcarce able to have uttered more than the cloſing period. He advanced and delivered to the preſident his commiſſion, with a copy of his addreſs. Having reſumed his place, he received in a ſtanding poſture the following anſwer of congreſs; which the preſident delivered with elegance; but not without ſuch a ſenſibility as changed, and ſpread a degree of paleneſs over, his countenance.

"Sir, The United States in congreſs aſſembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the ſolemn reſignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with ſucceſs through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the ſacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilſt it was without funds or a government to ſupport you. You have conducted the great military conteſt with wiſdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all diſaſters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to diſplay their martial genius, and tranſmit their fame to poſterity. You have perſevered, till theſe United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a juſt Providence, to cloſe the war in freedom, ſafety and independence; on which happy event we ſincerely join you in congratulations.

1783. "Having defended the ſtandard of liberty in this new world: having taught a leſſon uſeful to thoſe who inflict and to thoſe who feel oppreſſion, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the bleſſings of your fellow-citizens—but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remoteſt ages.

"We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourſelves with the intereſts, of thoſe confidential officers, who have attended your perſon to this affecting moment.

"We join you in commending the intereſts of our deareſt country to the protection of Almighty God, beſeeching him to diſpoſe the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and reſpectable nation. And for you we addreſs to him our earneſt prayers, that a life ſo beloved, may be foſtered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illuſtrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

To ſee on the one hand, ſo great and amiable a character taking his leave of public employments to ſpend his future days in retirement; and his country on the other acknowledging his unprecedented merit, and with the moſt affectionate embraces loading him with their bleſſings, exhibited a ſcene that drew tears from many of the ſpectators. When the buſineſs was cloſed, his excellency immediately ſet out for his ſeat at Mount Vernon in Virginia. The governor of Maryland accompanied him to South river, with the warmeſt wiſhes

of

of the city for his repoſe, health and happineſs. Long, long may he enjoy them!

The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States, together with a joint letter from the miniſters of the United States, dated at Paſſy the 10th of September, was laid before congreſs on the 13th of December. That and the letter were referred to a committee, who reported upon them, January the 14th. The nine ſtates preſent reſolved unanimouſly to ratify the definitive treaty. In teſtimony of ſuch ratification, they cauſed the ſeal of the United States to be affixed to it; and it was witneſſed by his excellency Thomas Mifflin, preſident. The treaty begins—"In the name of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity."—Then follows the introduction—"It having pleaſed the Divine Providence to diſpoſe the hearts of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all paſt miſunderſtandings and differences, that have unhappily interrupted the good correſpondence and friendſhip which they wiſh mutually to reſtore; and to eſtabliſh ſuch a beneficial and ſatisfactory intercourſe between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and ſecure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this deſirable end, already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation, by the proviſional articles, ſigned at Paris on the 30th of November 1782, by the commiſſioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inſerted in and to conſtitute the treaty of peace propoſed to be concluded between the crown of

1784. Great Britain and the ſaid United States, &c. &c. his Britannic majeſty, and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the proviſional articles, &c. have conſtituted, that is to ſay, his Britannic majeſty on his part, David Hartley eſq; and the ſaid United States on their part, John Adams eſq; Benjamin Franklin eſq; John Jay eſq; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and ſigning the preſent definitive treaty: who after having reciprocally communicated their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles." The nine firſt articles are the ſame with the proviſional, five or ſix words excepted to accommodate them to the date of the treaty. But the following 10th article is added—" The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty. In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned, their miniſters plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, ſigned with our hands the preſent definitive treaty, and cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto. Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three. (L. S.) D. Hartley. (L. S.) John Adams, (L. S.) B. Franklin, (L. S.) John Jay."

On the ſame day the treaty was ratified, congreſs unanimouſly reſolved upon tranſmitting to the ſeveral ſtates, the recommendation agreed upon by the commiſſioners in the 5th proviſional article: but too late for the credit of America, the benefit of the United States, or the relief.

lief of the loyaliſts. It is conjectured, that between twenty and thirty thouſand perſons have been forced upon a reſidence at the new ſettlement of Shelburne and others in Nova Scotia; all of whom might, by a temperate conduct and a noble ſpirit of forgiveneſs, have been rendered good ſubjects to the United States. Through reſentment they may hereafter prove dangerous enemies, particularly to the Maſſachuſetts, ſhould they be aided by foreign aſſiſtance. The United States have not only deprived themſelves of their perſonal ſervice, but alſo of all their property, which is not inconſiderable, for there are many wealthy individuals among them.

Nearly the whole of the American army has been diſbanded: but *The Society of the Cincinnati*, which the late officers of it have eſtabliſhed, has ſpread a conſiderable alarm. General Knox, with the good intention of reconciling the minds of his military brethren to the private life on which they were ſoon to enter, projected the plan, before the circulation of the anonymous papers through the army in March 1783. When the dangerous deſign of theſe had been fruſtrated by the prudence of the commander in chief, Knox imparted his propoſals to certain officers. They were afterward communicated to the ſeveral regiments of the reſpective lines, and an officer from each was appointed, who, with the generals, ſhould take the ſame into conſideration at a meeting on the 10th of May, at which baron Steuben, the ſenior officer preſent, preſided. At their next meeting on the 13th, the plan having been reviſed was accepted. The ſubſtance of it is—"The officers of the American army do hereby in the moſt ſolemn manner aſſociate, conſtitute and combine themſelves into one

Society

1783. *Society of Friends*, to endure as long as they ſhall endure, or *any of their eldeſt male poſterity*; and in failure thereof, *the collateral branches, who may be judged worthy of becoming its ſupporters and members.*—The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, poſſeſs high veneration for the character of that illuſtrious Roman, *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, and being reſolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenſhip, they think they may with propriety denominate themſelves *The Society of the Cincinnati.* The following principles ſhall be immutable—an inceſſant attention to preſerve inviolate the exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled—and an unalterable determination to promote and cheriſh between the reſpective ſtates union and national honor; to render permanent, cordial affection, and the ſpirit of brotherly kindneſs among the officers; and to extend acts of beneficence toward thoſe officers and their families, who may unfortunately be under the neceſſity of receiving it. The general ſociety will, for the ſake of frequent communications, be divided into ſtate ſocieties, and thoſe again into ſuch diſtricts as ſhall be directed by the ſtate ſocieties. The ſtate ſocieties ſhall meet on the fourth of July annually, and the general ſociety on the firſt Monday in May annually, ſo long as they ſhall deem it neceſſary, and afterward at leaſt once in every three years. The ſtate ſocieties are to have a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, treaſurer, and aſſiſtant-treaſurer. The meeting of the general ſociety ſhall conſiſt of its officers, and a repreſentation from each ſtate ſociety, in number not exceeding five, whoſe expences ſhall be borne by their reſpective

tive ſtate ſocieties. In the general meeting, the preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, aſſiſtant-ſecretary, treaſurer, and aſſiſtant-treaſurers-general, ſhall be choſen to ſerve until the next meeting. Thoſe officers who are foreigners, are to be conſidered as members in the ſocieties of any of the ſtates in which they may happen to be. As there are and will at all times be men in the reſpective ſtates eminent for their abilities and patriotiſm, whoſe views may be directed to the ſame laudable objects with thoſe of the Cincinnati, it ſhall be a rule to admit ſuch characters, as honorary members of the ſociety for their own lives only: provided that the number of the honorary members does not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers and their deſcendants. The ſociety ſhall have an *order* by which its members ſhall be known and diſtinguiſhed, which ſhall be a medal of gold, of a proper ſize to receive the propoſed emblems, and to be ſuſpended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, deſcriptive of the union of America and France."

The ſociety at the ſaid meeting directed, that the preſident-general ſhould tranſmit, as ſoon as might be, to each of the following characters, a medal containing the order of the ſociety, viz. the chevalier de la Luzerne, the Sieur Gerard, the count d'Eſtaing, the count de Graſſe, the count de Barras, the chevalier d'Eſtouches, the count de Rochambeau, and the generals and colonels in the army; and ſhould acquaint them, that "the ſociety do themſelves the honor to conſider them as members." They alſo reſolved, that the members of the ſeveral ſtate ſocieties ſhould aſſemble as ſoon as may be for the choice of their officers; "that general Heath,

1783. baron Steuben, and general Knox, be a committee to wait on the commander in chief, with a copy of the inſtitution, and requeſt him to honor the ſociety by placing his name at the head of it." They likewiſe deſired general Heath to tranſmit copies of the inſtitution, with the proceedings thereon, to the commanding officer of the ſouthern army, the ſenior officer in each ſtate, from Pennſylvania to Georgia incluſive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode Iſland line, requeſting them to take ſuch meaſures as may appear to them neceſſary for expediting the eſtabliſhment of their ſtate ſocieties. Circular letters were accordingly written; and the plan of the Cincinnati carried into execution, without the leaſt oppoſition being given to it by any one ſtate, or body of men in any.

A pamphlet was at length publiſhed ſigned *Caſſius*, dated Charleſtown, October 10, 1783, entitled *Conſiderations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati*; with this motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion." It is thought to be written by Ædanus Burke eſq; one of the chief juſtices of South Carolina; and is well executed. The author undertakes to prove, "that the Cincinnati creates two diſtinct orders among the Americans—1ſt, A race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military, together with the powerful families, and firſt-rate, leading men in the ſtate, whoſe view it will ever be, *to rule*: and 2dly, The people or plebeians, whoſe only view is not to be oppreſſed; but whoſe certain fate it will be to ſuffer oppreſſion under the inſtitution." Remarking upon the reaſon for the members being called the *Cincinnati*, he exclaims—"As they were taken from the citizens, why in the name of God not be contented to return

return to citizenſhip", without uſurping an hereditary order? or with what "propriety can they denominate" themſelves from Cincinnatus, with an ambition ſo rank as to aim at nothing leſs, than *Otium cum Dignitate*, "Retirement and a peerage"? Did that virtuous Roman, having ſubdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyards and plant his cabbages; did he confer an hereditary order of peerage on himſelf and his fellow ſoldiers? I anſwer, No; it was more than he dared to do." When near the end he ſays,—"With regard to myſelf, I will be candid to own, that although I am morally certain the inſtitution will entail upon us the evils I have mentioned: yet I have not the moſt diſtant idea, that it will come to a diſſolution. The firſt claſs, or leading gentry in the ſtate [of South Carolina] and who will always hold the government, will find their intereſt in ſupporting a diſtinction that will gratify their ambition, by removing them far above their fellow citizens. The middling order of our gentry, and ſubſtantial landholders, may ſee its tendency; but they can take no ſtep to oppoſe it, having little to do with government. And the lower claſs, with the city populace, will never reaſon on it, till they feel the ſmart, and then they will have neither the power nor capacity for a reformation."

The alarm is become ſo univerſal, that the general ſociety, at their meeting to be held at Philadelphia in May, muſt agree upon alterations, and remove the moſt obnoxious parts of the plan, or the ſtates will be likely to ſet their faces againſt the Cincinnati, as a dangerous order. Many of the American officers have undoubtedly become members merely upon prudential motives,

and

1783. and will join their influence for the removal of ſuch obnoxious parts. General Greene, the late commanding officer of the ſouthern army, has acknowledged to me in converſation, that there is not in the ſociety, as at preſent conſtituted, a delicacy with regard to the general body of American citizens; and it may be fairly preſumed, that a ſimilar ſentiment is eſpouſed by the late commander in chief. It is to be hoped, that the ſeveral ſtates will unite in determining, that the ſociety ſhall diſſolve with the deaths of the preſent officers and honorary members, and that it ſhall not be perpetuated by an acceſſion of new and younger ones. In their late conteſt with Great Britain they acted upon the maxim—*obſta principiis.* They muſt apply it afreſh for their ſecurity againſt lordly dominion.

How much a people, and governmental powers, are prone to put up with and practiſe internal encroachments upon liberty, when they have ſecured themſelves from ſuch as are foreign, may appear from the following facts.

In 1782, captain Gilbert Dench was choſen for Hopkinton, and ſuffered to ſit as member in the Maſſachuſetts houſe of repreſentatives, though he had a dwelling in and lived at Boſton for a full year before the choice. Edward Pope eſq; was repreſentative for Dartmouth and naval officer at the ſame time. Both were under an abſolute diſqualification by the conſtitution. On Tueſday the 6th of May, 1783, the town of Boſton, which could not comply with a warden-act, upon the plea that it was againſt the conſtitution, choſe James Sullivan eſq; one of their repreſentatives in direct oppoſition to the conſtitution, which requires that every repreſentative

ſhould have been an inhabitant of the town he is choſen 1783.
to repreſent, *one year at leaſt* next preceding his election. When the propriety of his election was inquired into by the houſe, a majority determined in favor of it; upon the flimſy plea, that he tranſacted buſineſs in Boſton though he ſlept at Cambridge, and removed with an *intention* of becoming an inhabitant, in time to have completed that inhabitancy which the conſtitution requires; and that his ſtopping at Cambridge to ſecure the health of one of his family, whoſe life muſt have been endangered by her ſpending the ſummer in Boſton, was occaſioned by an act of God. The ſame cauſe which ſecured his election, ſecured his ſeat, viz. an avowed and violent oppoſition to every moderate meaſure in favor of the parties who, by the proviſional articles, were to be the objects of the congreſſional recommendation.

By a paragraph in a bill, which was before the houſe (during this their firſt ſeſſion) and afterward paſſed into a law, caſes were ſubmitted to the ſole judgment of two juſtices of peace, that ought to have been left to the determination of a jury. But certain members proteſted againſt it, aſſigning the following reaſons for their ſo doing—" 1. Becauſe we apprehend other proviſion might have been made, conſiſtent with the conſtitution, and at the ſame time more effectual for the purpoſe of preventing the return of perſons who have left this ſtate and joined the enemies of the United States, than that provided in the paragraph aforeſaid. Such conſtitutional and more effectual proviſion was moved and urged by the diſſentients and others, as a ſubſtitute in place of the ſaid paragraph, and is as follows, viz. "Provided nevertheleſs,

1783. theleſs, that if any perſon committed as aforeſaid, ſhall, before the warrant is made out by the governor to ſend him out of the ſtate, petition the governor, he ſhall, with advice of council, appoint three juſtices of the county, *quorum unus*, where ſuch perſon ſtands committed, to iſſue their precept for a jury to be drawn out of the ſuperior court box and ſummoned to appear at a certain time and place, and to inquire on oath whether the perſon ſo committed is within the act aforeſaid; and if the jury ſhall return their verdict, that ſuch perſon is not within ſaid act, then he ſhall be diſcharged and not be tranſported: but ſuch perſon ſhall not be liberated from his confinement until a verdict is ſo given in his favor. And in every ſuch caſe the juſtices ſhall appoint ſome meet perſon to act as council on behalf of government, at the expence of the commonwealth. And the perſon petitioning for ſuch trial ſhall pay all the coſt thereof in the ſame manner as other perſons are obliged to do, in bringing forward a ſuit at law.—" 2. Becauſe by the ſaid paragraph, that eſſential right of freemen, *a trial by jury*, is taken away, and every ſubject of this commonwealth expoſed to be deprived of his liberty, property and rights of citizenſhip, and to the *infamous puniſhment* of baniſhment, by the ſole judgment of two juſtices of the peace.—" 3. Becauſe it is a flagrant and direct violation of the principles and ſpirit of the conſtitution, and the letter of the declaration of rights, art. xii. which provides that, " No ſubject ſhall be arreſted, impriſoned, deſpoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty or eſtate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the

the law of the land. And the legiſlature ſhall not make 17[illegible]
any law, that ſhall ſubject any perſon to a capital or infamous puniſhment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, without trial by jury".— 4. Becauſe it furniſhes a precedent of a tendency, moſt dangerous and fatal to the ſecurity of the lives, liberties and property of the ſubjects of this commonwealth." The proteſt was ſubſcribed by William Phillips, Nathaniel Appleton, Caleb Davis, Thomas Dawes, all of the Boſton board; by Thomas Clarke, James Swan, Solomon Lovell, Ebenezer Warren, John Choate, Nathan Dane, Bailey Bartlett, James Bancroft, John Burke, Samuel Loring, James Perry, John H. Bartlet, Peter Penniman, Jacob Ludwig, Theodore Sedgwick, William King, Thompſon J. Skinner, John Bacon, William Bodman, Timothy Childs, and Nathaniel Wyman.

When the recommendation from congreſs of laſt 17
January the 14th, was received, various methods were practiſed to prevent the good effects of it. It was roundly aſſerted by ſome of the popular leaders, that Mr. John Adams did not wiſh that the ſame ſhould be regarded. To counteract ſuch reports, Mr. Adams's letter of September the 10th (page 350) was communicated to certain gentlemen of the ſenate and houſe, who copied the ſame themſelves, the more fully to defeat ſuch aſſertions. But even Mr. J. Adams's expreſs declaration in favor of the tories could not influence the general court to the exerciſe of a becoming moderation.

As to Mr. Marbois' letter (p. 333) he has privately pronounced it to be *official*; which he aſſerts exempts him from all obligation to acknowledge it: this accounts

1784. for his having diſowned it to a certain gentleman who has made a conſpicuous figure in congreſs.

The peace has afforded me the opportunity of gaining further information as to certain particulars relating to the war, which it may be proper to mention.

1781. When lieutenant colonel Tarleton approached Charlotte-ville, he diſpatched a troop of horſe under captain M'Leod, three miles further to Mr. Jefferſon's * houſe, with the double object of taking him and the two ſpeakers of the ſenate and delegates, priſoners; and of remaining there in vidette, as the houſe had a commanding view of half a ſcore counties round about. Tarleton gave ſtrict orders to the captain to ſuffer nothing to be injured. The troop failed in their deſign of making priſoners: notwithſtanding which, M'Leod preſerved every thing with ſacred care during his tarriance there of about eighteen hours. Colonel Tarleton was juſt as long at Charlotte-ville; when he was hurried from thence by the news of the riſing of the militia, and by a ſudden fall of rain which threatened to ſwell the river, and intercept his return. In general he did little injury to the inhabitants on that ſhort and haſty excurſion, which was about 60 miles from the main army, then in Spotſylvania. Lord Cornwallis afterward proceeded to the Point of Fork, and encamped his army from thence all along the main James river to a ſeat of Mr. Jefferſon's, called Elkhill; and made it his head quarters for the ten days of his remaining in that poſition. Mr. Jefferſon happily had time to remove moſt of his effects out of the houſe. His ſtocks of cattle, ſheep and hogs, together with what corn was wanted, were uſed for the ſuſtenance

* Now the American plenipotentiary at the court of Verſailles.

of the army; and all his horſes, capable of ſervice, were 1781.
carried off. This was no other than Mr. Jefferſon expected. But the throats of the horſes too young for ſervice were cut; his growing crops of corn and tobacco were burned, together with his barns, containing the ſame articles of the preceding year, and all the fences on the plantation, ſo as to leave it an abſolute waſte. Theſe things were perpetrated under lord Cornwallis's eye; the ſituation of the houſe, in which he was, commanding a view of every part of the plantation. The reſt of the neighbourhood was treated in ſomewhat the ſame ſtile; but not with that ſpirit of total extermination which ſeemed to rage over Jefferſon's poſſeſſions. Wherever the army under his lordſhip went, the dwelling houſes were plundered of every thing which could be carried off. Hundreds of eye witneſſes can prove, that his lordſhip's table was ſerved with plate thus pillaged from private houſes; though his lordſhip's character in Great Britain will forbid the belief of his ſharing in the plunder. By an eſtimate made at the time, on the beſt information that could be collected, the ſtate of Virginia loſt, during Cornwallis's attempts to reduce it, 30,000 ſlaves; about 27,000 of whom died of the ſmall-pox and camp fever: the reſt are thought to have been partly ſent to the Weſt Indies, and partly to New York, and from thence, before the evacuation, to Nova Scotia and elſewhere. The whole devaſtations occaſioned by the Britiſh army, during the ſix months previous to their ſurrender at York Town, are ſuppoſed to amount to about three millions ſterling.

"The loſs of men ſuſtained by the town of New Haven, out of the continental line, from among the

1784. militia, ſeamen and other inhabitants, is eſtimated at 210. New Haven is about a twenty-fourth part of Connecticut; reckoning therefore the ſame proportion of loſs to the whole ſtate, the number loſt will amount to 5,040. Connecticut is eſteemed about a twelfth part of the American ſtates; reckoning the ſame proportion of loſs therefore to the whole, the total amount will be 60,480; but New York, New Jerſey, and the ſouthern ſtates, have, doubtleſs, ſuffered a greater loſs in proportion to their numbers than Connecticut. It is therefore probable that the whole loſs of lives is not leſs than 70,000 *." Vaſt numbers died on board the priſon ſhips at New York: not leſs, it is aſſerted, than 11,000 in one only, the *Jerſey* †. Many periſhed in conſequence of their being ſo crowded together, others through cruel uſage, and ſeveral for want of thoſe exertions which would have prevented fatal ſickneſs and have promoted health.

The Britiſh forces are charged with having utterly deſtroyed more than fifteen places of public worſhip within the United States, during the courſe of the war. Moſt of theſe they burnt, and others they levelled with the ground, leaving in ſome places not a veſtige of their former ſituation. A number of others they nearly deſtroyed, by converting them into barracks, jails, hoſpitals, and riding ſchools. In New York, there were nineteen places of worſhip when the war began; and when the city was evacuated, there were but nine fit for

* The Rev. Benjamin Trumbull's Thankſgiving Sermon at North-Haven, Dec. 11, 1783.

† Dr. Ezra Stiles's Election Sermon before the governor and general aſſembly of Connecticut, May 8, 1783, p. 45.

uſe. Trinity church and the Old Lutheran were indeed 1784.
deſtroyed by the fire. But whatever the Americans may object againſt the Britiſh, on account of the loſs of lives and property which they have ſuſtained, they have abundant cauſe for thankfulneſs to the God of armies for having conducted them through the conteſt into a ſtate of independence, with ſufferings ſo ſhort and light comparatively conſidered. It was not quite eight years that they were engaged in it, computing from the firſt commencement of hoſtilities to the ratifying of the proviſional treaty. This is a leſs time than that, in which the ſtates of Holland (in their glorious ſtruggle with Spain) dared ſo much as to claim independence. There is ſcarce, if an inſtance in hiſtory, of ſo great a revolution being effected in ſo ſhort a time, and with ſo little loſs of lives and property *.

From what has been already related, you will collect for yourſelf the characters of the two late generals of the northern and ſouthern armies, under whoſe commands the American war terminated. You may wiſh however to receive ſome additional information concerning them. A few ſtrictures muſt ſuffice.

His excellency George Waſhington is deſcended from a family that emigrated to Virginia, when the royaliſts in England were expoſed to various diſtreſſes previous to the reſtoration. Virginia does not afford thoſe advantages for a univerſal education, which are enjoyed in Europe—a quarter of the world his excellency never viſited. Strong powers and cloſe application compenſated in ſeveral reſpects for the deficiencies of his native country. His epiſtolary and other compoſitions, which

* Dr. Rodgers's Sermon.

1784. appeared while he ſuſtained a public character, will be a laſting credit to him. He was happy in having a ſucceſſion of able ſecretaries, whom he undoubtedly employed in drawing up many of his official papers, after having dictated the matter of them: but his private correſpondences, and others which from time and circumſtances muſt neceſſarily have employed his own pen, ſhow that he was equal to any of thoſe publications, which had his name affixed to them by his authority. It would be abſurd to expect, that he ſhould equal in military ſkill the firſt European generals, when he has enjoyed neither their opportunities nor experience for perfecting himſelf: but it may be juſtly aſſerted concerning him, that he was the beſt general the Americans could have had to command them. The world has been miſtaken in one opinion reſpecting his excellency, whoſe natural temper poſſeſſes more of the *Marcellus* and leſs of the *Fabius* than has been generally imagined. The event juſtified his diſcernment in fixing upon the honorable Nathaniel Greene to command the ſouthern army, when the reſolve of congreſs produced a vacancy: but ſeveral of the firſt officers in his own, thought at the time, that a wrong choice had been made.

The parents of the honorable Nathaniel Greene were quakers, and deſcended from ſome of the firſt ſettlers in the Rhode Iſland government; under which the general was born in or about 1741. The father was an anchor-ſmith, had conſiderable iron works, carried on a large ſtroke of buſineſs, and was concerned in ſhipping. The ſon Nathaniel, being prompted by a laudable ambition and a thirſt after knowledge while a boy, learned the Latin, chiefly by his own induſtry, and with very

little

little help. He procured a ſmall library, and improved his mind by reading. He had a prevailing taſte for military hiſtory; which he indulged by borrowing ſuch publications, when it did not ſuit him to purchaſe. He was at an early period of life, choſen a member of the Rhode Iſland aſſembly; and diſcharged his truſt ſo as to give the higheſt ſatisfaction to his conſtituents. Though educated in the peaceable principles of quakeriſm, yet he thought himſelf called, by the peculiarity of the times, to take an active part in the defence of American liberty. Upon his aſſuming the military character, the quakers renounced all connection with him as a member of their particular body, by reading him out of the meeting. He was choſen general, to command the regiments raiſed by Rhode Iſland, for the aſſiſtance of the Maſſachuſetts. He was at length honored with the confidence of general Waſhington: but his influence was limited. He was of a humane diſpoſition; but reſolutely ſevere when the ſame was neceſſary. He was of a firm, intrepid, and independent mind. He abhorred the cruelties that were practiſed by the partizans of each ſide, and ſtrongly inculcated a ſpirit of moderation. To a prevailing knowledge of this diſpoſition, he aſcribed his being ſpared by the tories in Carolina, who, he thought, could have ſhot him repeatedly, had they been ſo minded. The ſame amiable temper influenced him to declare againſt the meaſure which the South Carolina legiſlature adopted, when they paſſed the confiſcating act at Jackſonborough *. 1784.

The

* In October, 1785, the honorable Nathaniel Greene ſailed from Rhode Iſland to Georgia, where he had a conſiderable eſtate not far diſtant from Savannah. Here he paſſed away his time, occupied in

1784. The preſent letter is intended for the laſt upon the affairs of the United States; and ſhall cloſe with ſome account of their reſpective conſtitutions.

You may recollect, that in the courſe of our correſpondence, no account of New Hampſhire ſtate's having agreed upon a conſtitution, has been forwarded. The event itſelf did not take place till the 31ſt of laſt October. The returns from the ſeveral towns being examined; and it appearing, that the bill of rights and form of

domeſtic concerns, as the private citizen. In June, 1786, while walking without an umbrella, the intenſe rays of the ſun upon his head overpowered him, and brought on an inflammation of the brain, which in a few days carried him off. Thus he died by a ſtroke of the ſun—probably the diſorder that proved fatal to the ſon of the Shunamite. When the account of his death arrived at Savannah, the inhabitants were ſtruck with the deepeſt ſorrow. All buſineſs was ſuſpended. The ſhops and ſtores throughout the town were ſhut; and the ſhips in the harbour had their colours half maſted on the mournful occaſion. The body was brought to Savannah, and interred on the 20th. In Auguſt, the United States in congreſs aſſembled came to the following reſolution, "That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathaniel Greene eſq; at the ſeat of the federal government, with the following inſcription:

Sacred to the Memory of
NATHANIEL GREENE, Eſq;
who departed this life, on
the nineteenth of June, MDCCLXXXVI;
late MAJOR-GENERAL
in the ſervice of the United States,
and
Commander of their Army
in the Southern Department:
The United States in Congreſs aſſembled,
in honour of his
Patriotiſm, Valour, and Ability,
have erected this Monument."

govern-

government laid before the people were approved of by them, the ſame were on that day eſtabliſhed by the delegates of the people, and declared to be the civil conſtitution for the ſtate of New Hampſhire, to take place the firſt Wedneſday of next June; and in the mean time, the general court under the preſent government is to make all the neceſſary arrangements for introducing the ſaid conſtitution, at the time and in the manner therein deſcribed.

New Hampſhire reckons *the rights of conſcience* among the unalienable natural rights of mankind; and with her neighbouring ſiſter ſtate, the *Maſſachuſetts*, declares that "no ſubject ſhall be hurt, moleſted, or reſtrained, in his perſon, liberty, or eſtate, for worſhipping God, in the manner and ſeaſon moſt agreeable to his own conſcience; or for his religious profeſſion or ſentiments—provided he doth not diſturb the public peace, or obſtruct others in their religious worſhip." Both empower the legiſlature to authorize the ſeveral towns, pariſhes, bodies-politic, or religious ſocieties, to make ſuitable proviſion at their own expence, for the ſupport and maintenance of public *Proteſtant* teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all caſes where ſuch proviſion ſhall not be made voluntarily. But the towns, &c. are, at all times, to have the excluſive right of chooſing their own public teachers, and of contracting with them for their ſupport and maintenance. Inſtead of adding, "And all perſons, whatſoever opinions concerning religion they may profeſs;" their words are—"And *every denomination of Chriſtians* demeaning themſelves peaceably, and as good ſubjects of the commonwealth, ſhall be equally under the protection of the law; and no ſubordination of one

ſect

1784. ſect or denomination to another, ſhall ever be eſtabliſhed by law." The preſident, council, ſenate, and houſe of repreſentatives of *New Hampſhire*, are to be of the Proteſtant religion. The governor, lieutenant governor, counſellor, ſenator and repreſentative of the *Maſſachuſetts*, are to declare their belief in the Chriſtian religion.

The foundation principle on which *Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations* united, has been early mentioned (Vol. I. p. 37.) A ſimilar ſentiment was introduced into the charter of the 15th of Charles II. by which it is provided, "That no perſon within the ſaid colony, at any time hereafter, ſhall be any wiſe moleſted, puniſhed, diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for any differences of opinion in matters of religion, who does not actually diſturb the civil peace of the ſaid colony." The ſtate of Rhode Iſland has continued its government ſince ceaſing to be a colony, according to the general deſign of the charter. The conſtitution admits not of religious eſtabliſhments, any further than the ſame depend upon the voluntary choice of individuals; and no particular ſect can claim pre-eminence.

Connecticut has changed its former mode of government, only ſo far as to accommodate it to the ſeparation which has taken place between that and the parent ſtate. Religious liberty is nearly, if not exactly, upon the ſame footing there as in the Maſſachuſetts.

The *New York* conſtitution, "to guard againſt that ſpiritual oppreſſion and intolerance, wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked prieſts and princes, have ſcourged mankind," ordains, determines, and declares, "that the free exerciſe and enjoyment of religious profeſſion and worſhip, without diſcrimination or preference,

preference, ſhall for ever hereafter be allowed within the 1784.
ſaid ſtate *to all mankind.* Provided, that the liberty of conſcience hereby granted, ſhall not be ſo conſtrued, as to excuſe acts of licentiouſneſs, or juſtify practices inconſiſtent with the peace or ſafety of the ſtate."

The ſtate of *New Jerſey* eſtabliſhed, "That no perſon ſhall ever, within the ſame, be deprived of the ineſtimable privilege of worſhipping *Almighty God* in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conſcience; *nor, under any pretence* whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worſhip, contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor ſhall any perſon ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpoſe of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worſhip, or for the maintenance of any miniſter or miniſtry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himſelf to perform:—That there ſhall be no eſtabliſhment of any one religious ſect in preference to another; and that no Proteſtant inhabitant ſhall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all perſons profeſſing a belief in the faith of any Proteſtant ſect*, who ſhall demean themſelves peaceably under the government as hereby eſtabliſhed, ſhall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or truſt, or of being a member of either branch of the legiſlature, and ſhall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others their fellow ſubjects." The 17th article declares, "That the eſtates

* "This is a more enlarged toleration than *European* policy has yet, in almoſt any inſtance, admitted: but perfect conſiſtency would not confine it to Proteſtants, or to any ſyſtem of religion."

of

1784. of ſuch perſons as ſhall deſtroy their own lives, ſhall not, for that offence, be forfeited; but ſhall deſcend in the ſame manner as they would have done, had ſuch perſons died in the natural way; nor ſhall any article which may occaſion accidentally the death of any one, be henceforth deemed a deodand, or in any wiſe forfeited on account of ſuch misfortune." A ſimilar article was afterward introduced into the New Hampſhire conſtitution.

The 2d article of the *Pennſylvania* declaration of rights aſſerts—"That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worſhip *Almighty God*, according to the dictates of their own conſciences and underſtandings: and that no man ought, or, of right, can be compelled to attend any religious worſhip; or erect or ſupport any place of worſhip; or maintain any miniſtry contrary to, or againſt his own free will and conſent: nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a *God*, be juſtly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious ſentiments *, or peculiar mode of religious worſhip; and that no authority can, or ought to be veſted in, or aſſumed by, any power whatever, that ſhall, in any caſe interfere with, or in any manner control the right of conſcience, in the free exerciſe of religious worſhip." The 15th article declares, "That all men have a natural inherent right to emi-

* This however did not prevent a groſs inconſiſtency in *The Frame of Government*, which, by the 10th ſection, requires, that in order for admiſſion into the houſe of repreſentatives, each member ſhould ſubſcribe, beſide a declaration of his faith in one God, his acknowledgment of the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament as of divine inſpiration.

grate

grate from one ſtate to another that will receive them, or to form a new ſtate in vacant countries, or in ſuch countries as they can purchaſe, whenever they think that thereby they may promote their own happineſs.

The 2d article of the *Delaware* declaration is ſubſtantially the ſame with that of Pennſylvania. The 3d ſays, "That all perſons profeſſing the Chriſtian religion, *ought for ever to enjoy equal rights and privileges* in the ſtate*; unleſs under colour of religion, any man diſturb the peace, the happineſs, or ſafety of ſociety." By the 29th ſection in the ſyſtem of government, it is fixed—"That there ſhall be no eſtabliſhment of any one religious ſect in the ſtate in preference to another."

The *Maryland* declaration is remarkably full, particular, and pointed as to the objects of conſtitutional right and ſecurity. The 33d article relates to religious liberty, and expreſſes, "That as it is the duty of every man to worſhip *God* in ſuch manner as he thinks moſt acceptable to him, all perſons profeſſing the Chriſtian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty: wherefore no perſon ought, by any law, to be moleſted in his perſon or eſtate, on account of his religious perſuaſion or profeſſion, or for his religious practice; unleſs, under colour of religion, any man ſhall diſturb the good order, peace, or ſafety of the ſtate, *or ſhall infringe* † *the laws of morality*, or injure others in

* *The Syſtem of Government* requires, notwithſtanding, that every perſon, choſen a member of either houſe, or appointed to any office or place of truſt, ſhould formally declare his faith in the *Trinitarian* doctrine, and in the divine inſpiration of the Old and New Teſtament.

† "This clauſe is certainly vague, and open to oppreſſive conſtruction: all that can come under the legal puniſhment to be inflicted by a ſtate, is expreſſed in the preceding and ſubſequent clauſes."

their

1784. their natural, civil, or religious rights: nor ought any perſon to be compelled to frequent, or maintain, or contribute (unleſs on contract) to maintain any particular place of worſhip, or any particular miniſtry: yet the legiſlature may, in their diſcretion, lay a general and equal tax, for the ſupport of the Chriſtian religion; leaving to each individual the power of appointing the payment of the money collected from him, over to the ſupport of any particular place of worſhip, or miniſter, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or the poor in general of any particular county. But the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property now belonging to the church of England, ought to remain to the church of England for ever." A preceding article declared, " That there ought to be no forfeiture of any part of the eſtate of any perſon for any crime, except murder, or treaſon againſt the ſtate, and then only on conviction and attainder. In the 55th ſection of the form of government, it is expreſsly appointed, that every perſon before entering on any office of truſt or profit, ſhall ſubſcribe a declaration of his belief in the Chriſtian religion.

Virginia hath not introduced its form of government with any declaration of general principles: nor made mention of any either toleration or teſt. The executive power is divided between the governor, the council of ſtate, and the county courts, or venerable collections of juſtices of peace. The delegates and ſenate may be of this rank. The governor's ſhare of the executive is trifling. The county courts or juſtices of the peace, beſide the authority of recommending to the governor candidates on vacancies in their own body, officers for the

the militia, and nominating the ſheriffs and coroners, 1784.
are to appoint the clerks of the ſeveral county courts in the commonwealth. For theſe reaſons the conſtitution is charged with involving in it a ſyſtem for perpetuating an ariſtocracy. It is thought, however, to be alterable at pleaſure by ſubſequent legiſlatures, in as much as the electors of the delegates and repreſentatives, who formed the convention in 1776, had no idea of independence and a permanent republic, and could not mean to veſt in the convention any authorities other than thoſe of the ordinary legiſlature.

North Carolina in the declaration of rights maintains, "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worſhip *Almighty God*, according to the dictates of their own conſcience; and yet eſtabliſhes it as an article in the form of government, "That no perſon who ſhall deny the being of a *God*, or the truth of the Proteſtant religion, or the divine authority of the Old or New Teſtament, ſhall be capable of holding any office, or place of truſt or profit in the civil department of the ſtate."

By the *South Carolina* conſtitution, among the qualifications of electors for members of the houſe of repreſentatives or ſenate, is that of "acknowledging the being of a *God*, and belief in a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments." It alſo preſcribes, "That no perſon ſhall be eligible to ſit in the houſe of repreſentatives, unleſs he be of the Proteſtant religion:" and that the governor, the lieutenant governor, privy council and ſenate, ſhall be of the ſame religion. The 38th article provides, "That all perſons and religious ſocieties, who acknowledge that there is one *God*, and a future ſtate of rewards

1784. rewards and puniſhments, and that *God* is publicly to be worſhipped, ſhall be freely tolerated." It then proceeds, "The Chriſtian Proteſtant religion ſhall be deemed, and is hereby conſtituted and declared to be, the eſtabliſhed religion of the ſtate; and all denominations of Chriſtian Proteſtants, demeaning themſelves peaceably and faithfully, ſhall enjoy equal religious and civil privileges."

The conſtitution of *Georgia* declares, "That all perſons whatever ſhall have the free exerciſe of their religion, provided it be not repugnant to the peace and ſafety of the ſtate; and ſhall not, unleſs by conſent, ſupport any teacher or teachers, except thoſe of their own profeſſion:" but it requires that the repreſentatives, who are the legiſlature of the ſtate, and who elect out of their own body the governor and executive council, ſhould be of the Proteſtant religion.

Some of the conſtitutions declare, "That no clergyman, or preacher of the goſpel of any denomination, ſhall be capable of holding any civil office within the ſtate." Such clergymen as are paid by, and ſo are the ſervants of the ſtate, may be juſtly excluded: but if they only enjoy the common protection of the ſtate, it ought to have been left to their fellow citizens whether to elect them into places, and to themſelves whether to accept; which neither the prudence of the one, nor the ſacred duties of the other, will permit, unleſs upon ſome very extraordinary occaſion.

The conſtitutions are ſo formed, that the inhabitants in common have a right to vote for repreſentatives, though not to vote for ſeveral in different towns and places. In a few ſtates every freeman of the full age

of

of 21 years, having reſided in the ſtate for the ſpace of one whole year before the day of election, and paid public taxes during that time, enjoys the right of an elector. In moſt, he muſt be worth thirty or forty-five pounds ſterling. Certain ſtates have provided for the eſtabliſhing and perpetuating of an equal repreſentation, in proportion to the numbers of freemen inhabiting the counties, cities, towns and diſtricts. 1784.

The following Extracts from an Act for eſtabliſhing *Religious Freedom*, paſſed in the Aſſembly of *Virginia* in the beginning of 1786, is added, in expectation of gratifying the curioſity, if not the taſte, of moſt readers.

" WELL aware, that Almighty God hath created the mind free: that all attempts to influence it by temporal puniſhments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocriſy, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord of body and mind, yet choſe not to propagate it by coercions on either;—That the impious preſumption of legiſlators and rulers, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical (who, being themſelves but fallible and uninſpired men, have aſſumed dominion over the faith of others, ſetting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as alone true and infallible, and as ſuch endeavouring to impoſe them on others) hath eſtabliſhed and maintained falſe religions over the greateſt part of the world, and through all times;—That, to compel a man to furniſh contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he diſbelieves, is ſinful and tyrannical;—That even the forcing a man to ſupport this or that teacher of his own religious perſuaſion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular paſtor, whoſe morals he would make his pattern, and whoſe powers he feels moſt perſuaſive to righteouſneſs; and is withdrawing from the miniſtry, thoſe temporal rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their perſonal conduct, are an additional

incitement to earneſt and unremitted labors for the inſtruction of mankind;—That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than on our opinions in phyſic or geometry;—That, therefore, the proſcribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of truſt and emolument, unleſs he profeſs or renounces this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriouſly of thoſe privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; and tends alſo to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, thoſe who will externally conform to it;—That though indeed thoſe are criminal who do not withſtand ſuch temptations, yet neither are thoſe innocent who lay them in their way;—That to ſuffer the civil magiſtrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to reſtrain the profeſſion or propagation of principles *on ſuppoſition of their ill tendency*, is a dangerous fallacy; which, at once deſtroys all religious liberty; becauſe he, being of courſe judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and will approve or condemn the ſentiments of others, only as they ſhall agree with, or differ from his own;—That it is time enough for the rightful purpoſes of civil government, for its officers to interpoſe when principles break out in overt acts againſt peace and good order:—And finally, that *truth* is great, and will prevail if left to herſelf; that *ſhe is the proper and ſufficient antagoniſt to error*, and can have nothing to fear from the conflict, unleſs by human interpoſition, diſarmed of her natural weapons, *free argument* and *debate*—errors

ceaſing

ceaſing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

" Be it therefore enacted by the General Aſſembly, that no man ſhall be compelled to ſupport any religious worſhip, place, or miniſtry whatſoever; nor ſhall be forced, reſtrained, moleſted or burthened in his body or goods, nor ſhall otherwiſe ſuffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief: but that all men ſhall be free to profeſs, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion: and that *the ſame ſhall in no wiſe diminiſh, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.*

" And though we well know that this Aſſembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purpoſes of legiſlation only, have no power to reſtrain the acts of ſucceeding Aſſemblies, conſtituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that *the rights hereby aſſerted,* are *of the natural rights of mankind*; and that if any act ſhall be hereafter paſſed to repeal the preſent, or to narrow its operation, ſuch act will be an infringement of *natural right.*"

The United States in Congreſs aſſembled, finding that the Articles of the Confederation would not enable them to ſurmount thoſe National Embarraſſments with which they were attended, at length recommended to the ſeveral Governments the appointing of Delegates to form a Special Convention at Philadelphia. Moſt of them complied, and elected Gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed Character to repreſent them. When the Delegates met in June 1787, Doctor Franklin propoſed his Excellency George Waſhington for Preſident; and he was unanimouſly choſen. After ſeveral Months cloſe and free Deliberation, the following Publications made their Appearance, excepting the Parts included within the Crotchets.

[FRAME OF GOVERNMENT.]

WE the People of the UNITED STATES, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to ourſelves and our poſterity, do ordain and eſtabliſh this Conſtitution for the *United States of* AMERICA.

[*Legiſlative*

[*Legiſlative Power.*]

ARTICLE I.

[The HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.]

SECTION I.

ALL Legiſlative Powers herein granted ſhall be veſted in a Congreſs of the United States, which ſhall conſiſt of a Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives.

SECTION II.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall be compoſed of members choſen every ſecond year by the people of the ſeveral States, and the electors in each State ſhall have the qualifications requiſite for electors of the moſt numerous branch of the State Legiſlature.

No perſon ſhall be a Repreſentative who ſhall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been ſeven years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he ſhall be choſen.

Repreſentatives and direct taxes ſhall be apportioned among the ſeveral States which may be included within this Union, according to their reſpective numbers, which ſhall be determined by adding to the whole number of free perſons, including thoſe bound to ſervice for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other perſons. The actual enumeration ſhall be made within three years after the firſt meeting of the Congreſs of the United States, and within every ſubſequent term of ten years, in ſuch manner as they ſhall by law direct. The number of Repreſentatives ſhall not exceed one for every thirty thouſand, but each State

ſhall have at leaſt one Repreſentative; and until ſuch enumeration ſhall be made, the State of New-Hampſhire ſhall be entitled to chooſe three, Maſſachuſetts eight, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York ſix, New-Jerſey four, Pennſylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland ſix, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the repreſentation from any State, the Executive authority thereof ſhall iſſue writs of election to fill ſuch vacancies.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall chooſe their Speaker and other officers; and ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

[SENATE.]

SECTION III.

THE Senate of the United States, ſhall be compoſed of two Senators from each State, choſen by the Legiſlature thereof, for ſix years; and each Senator ſhall have one vote.

Immediately after they ſhall be aſſembled in conſequence of the firſt election, they ſhall be divided as equally as may be into three claſſes. The ſeats of the Senators of the firſt claſs ſhall be vacated at the expiration of the ſecond year, of the ſecond claſs at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third claſs at the expiration of the ſixth year, ſo that one third may be choſen every ſecond year; and if vacancies happen by reſignation, or otherwiſe, during the receſs of the Legiſ-

lature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legiſlature, which ſhall then fill ſuch vacancies.

No perſon ſhall be a Senator who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he ſhall be choſen.

The Vice-Preſident of the United States ſhall be Preſident of the Senate, but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The Senate ſhall chooſe their other officers, and alſo a Preſident pro tempore, in the abſence of the Vice-Preſident, or when he ſhall exerciſe the office of Preſident of the United States.

The Senate ſhall have the ſole power to try all impeachments. When ſitting for that purpoſe, they ſhall be on oath or affirmation. When the Preſident of the United States is tried, the Chief Juſtice ſhall preſide: And no perſon ſhall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the Members preſent.

Judgment in caſes of impeachment ſhall not extend further than to removal from office, and diſqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, truſt, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted ſhall nevertheleſs be liable and ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment and puniſhment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each State by the Legiſlature thereof; but the Congreſs may at

at any time by law make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the places of chooſing Senators.

[*The* GENERAL CONGRESS.]

THE Congreſs ſhall aſſemble at leaſt once in every year, and ſuch meeting ſhall be on the firſt *Monday* in *December*, unleſs they ſhall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each Houſe ſhall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own Members, and a majority of each ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs; but a ſmaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of abſent Members, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch penalties, as each Houſe may provide.

Each Houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings, puniſh its Members for diſorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each Houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publiſh the ſame, excepting ſuch parts as may in their judgment require ſecrecy; and the yeas and nays of the Members of either Houſe, on any queſtion ſhall, at the deſire of one-fifth of thoſe preſent, be entered on the journal.

Neither Houſe, during the ſeſſion of Congreſs, ſhall, without the conſent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that, in which the two Houſes ſhall be ſitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Repreſentatives ſhall receive a compenſation for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law, and paid out of the treaſury of the United States. They ſhall in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at the ſeſſion of their reſpective Houſes, and in going to and returning from the ſame; and for any ſpeech or debate in either Houſe, they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

No Senator or Repreſentative ſhall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which ſhall have been created, or the emoluments whereof ſhall have been increaſed during ſuch time; and no perſon holding any office under the United States, ſhall be a Member of either Houſe, during his continuance in office.

[*The Powers of* CONGRESS.]

SECTION VII.

ALL bills for raiſing revenue ſhall originate in the Houſe of Repreſentatives; but the Senate may propoſe or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which ſhall have paſſed the Houſe of Repreſentatives and the Senate, ſhall, before it become a law, be preſented to the Preſident of the United States; if he approve he ſhall ſign it, but if not he ſhall return it, with his objections to that Houſe in which it ſhall have originated, who ſhall enter the objections at large on their journal,

journal, and proceed to reconſider it. If after ſuch reconſideration, two-thirds of that Houſe ſhall agree to paſs the bill, it ſhall be ſent, together with the objections, to the other Houſe, by which it ſhall likewiſe be conſidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that Houſe, it ſhall become a law. But in all ſuch caſes the votes of both Houſes ſhall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the perſons voting for and againſt the bill ſhall be entered on the journal of each Houſe reſpectively. If any bill ſhall not be returned by the Preſident within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it ſhall have been preſented to him, the ſame ſhall be a law, in like manner as if he had ſigned it, unleſs the Congreſs by their adjournment prevent its return, in which caſe it ſhall not be a law.

Every order, reſolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives may be neceſſary (except on a queſtion of adjournment) ſhall be preſented to the Preſident of the United States; and before the ſame ſhall take effect, ſhall be approved by him, or being diſapproved by him, ſhall be repaſſed by two-thirds of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives, according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congreſs ſhall have power—To lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts and exciſes, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, impoſts and exciſes ſhall be uniform throughout the United States;—To borrow money on the credit of the United States;—To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the ſeveral

ſeveral States, and with the Indian tribes;—To eſtabliſh an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the ſubject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;—To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures;—To provide for the puniſhment of counterfeiting the ſecurities and current coin of the United States;—To eſtabliſh poſt-offices and poſt-roads;—To promote the progreſs of ſcience and uſeful arts, by ſecuring for limited times to authors and inventors the excluſive right to their reſpective writings and diſcoveries;—To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;—To define and puniſh piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and offences againſt the law of nations;—To declare war, grant letters of marque and repriſal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;—To raiſe and ſupport armies, but no appropriation of money to that uſe ſhall be for a longer term than two years;—To provide and maintain a navy;—To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;—To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, ſuppreſs inſurrections and repel invaſions;—To provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, and for governing ſuch part of them as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States, reſerving to the States reſpectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the diſcipline preſcribed by Congreſs;—To exerciſe excluſive legiſlation in all caſes whatſoever, over ſuch diſtrict (not exceeding ten miles ſquare) as may, by ceſſion of particular States, and the acceptance of Congreſs, become the ſeat of government

of

of the United States, and to exerciſe like authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the Legiſlature of the State in which the ſame ſhall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and to make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this conſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

[*Reſtrictions upon* Congreſs.]

SECTION IX.

THE migration or importation of ſuch perſons as any of the States now exiſting ſhall think proper to admit, ſhall not be prohibited by the Congreſs prior to the year *one thouſand eight hundred* and *eight*, but a tax or duty may be impoſed on ſuch importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each perſon.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs when in caſes of rebellion or invaſion, the public ſafety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex-poſt facto* law ſhall be paſſed.

No capitation, or other direct tax ſhall be laid, unleſs in proportion to the cenſus or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty ſhall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference ſhall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over thoſe of another; nor ſhall veſſels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No

No monies ſhall be drawn from the Treaſury but in conſequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time.

No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United States: And no perſon holding any office of profit or truſt under them, ſhall, without the conſent of the Congreſs, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

[*Reſtrictions upon reſpective* States.]

SECTION X.

NO State ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and repriſal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts; paſs any bill of attainder, *ex poſt facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility. No State ſhall, without the conſent of the Congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impoſts, laid by any State on imports or exports, ſhall be for the uſe of the treaſury of the United States; and all ſuch laws ſhall be ſubject to the reviſion and control of the Congreſs. No State ſhall, without the conſent of Congreſs, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ſhips of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in

in war, unleſs actually invaded, or in ſuch immminent danger as will not admit of delay.

[*Executive Power.*]

ARTICLE II.

[PRESIDENT.]

SECTION I.

THE Executive Power ſhall be veſted in a Preſident of the United States of America. He ſhall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-Preſident, choſen for the ſame term, be elected as follows.

Each State ſhall appoint, in ſuch a manner as the Legiſlature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Repreſentatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congreſs; but no Senator or Repreſentative, or perſon holding an office of truſt or profit under the United States, ſhall be appointed an elector.

The electors ſhall meet in their reſpective States, and vote by ballot for two perſons, of whom one at leaſt ſhall not be an inhabitant of the ſame State with themſelves. And they ſhall make a liſt of all the perſons voted for and of the number of votes for each; which liſt they ſhall ſign and certify, and tranſmit ſealed to the ſeat of government of the United States, directed to the Preſident of the Senate. The Preſident of the Senate ſhall, in the preſence of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives, open all the certificates, and the votes ſhall then be counted. The perſon having the greateſt number of votes

votes ſhall be the Preſident, if ſuch number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have ſuch majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the Houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall immediately chooſe by ballot one of them for Preſident; and if no perſon have a majority, then from the five higheſt on the liſt the ſaid Houſe ſhall in like manner chooſe the Preſident. But in chooſing the Preſident, the votes ſhall be taken by States, the repreſentation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpoſe ſhall conſiſt of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States ſhall be neceſſary to a choice. In every caſe, after the choice of the Preſident, the perſon having the greateſt number of votes of the electors, ſhall be the Vice-Preſident. But if there ſhall remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate ſhall chooſe from them by ballot the Vice-Preſident.

The Congreſs may determine the time of chooſing the electors, and the day on which they ſhall give their votes; which day ſhall be the ſame throughout the United States.

No perſon except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Conſtitution, ſhall be eligible to the office of Preſident; neither ſhall any perſon be eligible to that office who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a reſident within the United States.

In caſe of the removal of the Preſident from office, or of his death, reſignation, or inability to diſcharge the powers and duties of the ſaid office, the ſame ſhall devolve on the Vice-Preſident, and the Congreſs may by

law provide for the caſe of removal, death, reſignation or inability, both of the Preſident and Vice-Preſident, declaring what officer ſhall then act as Preſident, and ſuch officer ſhall act accordingly, until the diſability be removed, or a Preſident ſhall be elected.

The Preſident ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for his ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed during the period for which he ſhall have been elected, and he ſhall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he ſhall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do ſolemnly ſwear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of Preſident of the United States, and will to the beſt of my ability, preſerve, protect and defend the Conſtitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

The Preſident ſhall be Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the ſeveral States, when called into the actual ſervice of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective offices, and he ſhall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United States, except in caſes of impeachment.

He ſhall have power, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators preſent concur; and he ſhall nominate, and by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate,

ſhall appoint Ambaſſadors, other public Miniſters and Conſuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whoſe appointments are not herein otherwiſe provided for, and which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by law. But the Congreſs may by law veſt the appointment of ſuch inferior officers, as they think proper, in the Preſident alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The Preſident ſhall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the receſs of the Senate, by granting commiſſions which ſhall expire at the end of their next ſeſſion.

SECTION III.

He ſhall from time to time give to the Congreſs information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene both Houſes, or either of them, and in caſe of diſagreement between them, with reſpect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to ſuch time as he ſhall think proper; he ſhall receive Ambaſſadors and other public Miniſters; he ſhall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and ſhall commiſſion all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The Preſident, Vice-preſident, and all civil officers of the United States, ſhall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treaſon, bribery, or other high crimes and miſdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

[*Judiciary Power.*]

SECTION I.

THE Judicial Power of the United States, ſhall be veſted in one Supreme Court, and in ſuch Inferior Courts as the Congreſs may from time to time ordain and eſtabliſh. The Judges, both of the Supreme and Inferior Courts, ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour, and ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for their ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall not be diminiſhed during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The Judicial Power ſhall extend to all caſes, in law and equity, ariſing under this Conſtitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under their authority; to all caſes affecting Ambaſſadors, other public Miniſters and Conſuls; to all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction; to controverſies to which the United States ſhall be a party; to controverſies between two or more States, between a ſtate and citizens of another ſtate, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the ſame ſtate claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a ſtate, or the citizens thereof, and foreign ſtates, citizens or ſubjects.

In all caſes affecting Ambaſſadors, other public Miniſters and Conſuls, and thoſe in which a ſtate ſhall be party, the Supreme Court ſhall have original juriſdiction.

tion. In all the other caſes before mentioned, the Supreme Court ſhall have appellate juriſdiction, both as to law and fact, with ſuch exceptions, and under ſuch regulations as the Congreſs ſhall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in caſes of impeachment, ſhall be by jury; and ſuch trial ſhall be held in the ſtate where the ſaid crimes ſhall have been committed; but when not committed within any ſtate, the trial ſhall be at ſuch place or places as the Congreſs may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treaſon againſt the United States, ſhall conſiſt only in levying war againſt them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No perſon ſhall be convicted of treaſon, unleſs on the teſtimony of two witneſſes to the ſame overt act, or on confeſſion in open court.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to declare the puniſhment of treaſon, but no attainder of treaſon ſhall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the perſon attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit ſhall be given in each ſtate to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other ſtate. And the Congreſs may by general laws preſcribe the manner in which ſuch acts, records and proceedings ſhall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each ſtate ſhall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the ſeveral ſtates.

A perſon charged in any ſtate with treaſon, felony, or other crime, who ſhall flee from juſtice, and be found in another ſtate, ſhall, on demand of the executive authority of the ſtate from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the ſtate having juriſdiction of the crime.

No perſon held to ſervice or labor in one ſtate, under the laws thereof, eſcaping into another, ſhall, in conſequence of any law or regulation therein, be diſcharged from ſuch ſervice or labor, but ſhall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom ſuch ſervice or labor may be due.

[*General Regulations.*]

SECTION III.

NEW ſtates may be admitted by the Congreſs into this Union; but no new ſtate ſhall be formed or erected within the juriſdiction of any other ſtate; nor any ſtate be formed by the junction of two or more ſtates, or parts of ſtates, without the conſent of the Legiſlatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congreſs.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to diſpoſe of and make all needful rules and regulations reſpecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Conſtitution ſhall be ſo conſtrued as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular ſtate.

SECTION IV.

The United States ſhall guarantee to every ſtate in this Union, a Republican form of government, and ſhall

ſhall protect each of them againſt invaſion; and on application of the Legiſlature, or of the Executive (when the Legiſlature cannot be convened) againſt domeſtic violence.

[*Amendments Provided.*]

ARTICLE V.

THE Congreſs, whenever two-thirds of both Houſes ſhall deem it neceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this Conſtitution, or, on the application of the Legiſlatures of two-thirds of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall call a Convention for propoſing amendments, which, in either caſe, ſhall be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this Conſtitution, when ratified by the Legiſlatures of three-fourths of the ſeveral ſtates, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of Ratification may be propoſed by the Congreſs; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth Section of the firſt Article; and that no ſtate, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the Senate.

[*General Regulations.*]

ARTICLE VI.

ALL debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Conſtitution, ſhall be as valid againſt the United States under this Conſtitution, as under the Confederation.

This Conſtitution, and the laws of the United States, which ſhall be made in purſuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the Judges in every ſtate ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the Conſtitution or laws of any ſtate to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The Senators and Repreſentatives beforementioned, and the Members of the ſeveral State Legiſlatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the ſeveral States, ſhall be bound by oath or affirmation, to ſupport this Conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of Nine States, ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this Conſtitution between the States ſo ratifying the ſame.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous conſent of the States preſent, the ſeventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names,

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
PRESIDENT,
And Deputy from VIRGINIA.

New-Hampſhire. { *John Langdon,*
Nicholas Gilman.

Maſſa-

Maſſachuſetts.	*Nathaniel Gorham,* *Rufus King.*
Connecticut.	*William Samuel Johnſon,* *Roger Sherman.*
New-York.	*Alexander Hamilton.*
New-Jerſey.	*William Livingſton,* *David Brearley,* *William Paterſon,* *Jonathan Dayton.*
Pennſylvania.	*Benjamin Franklin,* *Thomas Mifflin,* *Robert Morris,* *George Clymer,* *Thomas Fitzſimons,* *Jared Ingerſoll,* *James Wilſon,* *Gouverneur Morris.*
Delaware.	*George Read,* *Gunning Bedford, junior,* *John Dickinſon,* *Richard Baſſett,* *Jacob Broom.*
Maryland.	*James M'Henry,* *Daniel of St. Tho. Jeniſer,* *Daniel Carrol.*
Virginia.	*John Blair,* *James Madiſon, junior.*
North-Carolina.	*William Blount,* *Richard Dobbs Spaight,* *Hugh Williamſon.*

South-Carolina.	*John Rutledge,* *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,* *Charles Pinckney,* *Pierce Butler.*
Georgia.	*William Few,* *Abraham Baldwin.*

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

In CONVENTION, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

PRESENT,

The States of NEW-HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, Mr. *Hamilton* from NEW-YORK, NEW-JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, NORTH-CAROLINA, SOUTH-CAROLINA, and GEORGIA:

RESOLVED,

THAT the preceding Conſtitution be laid before the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it ſhould afterwards be ſubmitted to a Convention of Delegates, choſen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its Legiſlature, for their aſſent and ratification; and that each Convention aſſenting to, and ratifying the ſame, ſhould give Notice thereof to the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

Reſolved, *That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as ſoon as the Conventions of Nine States ſhall have ratified this Conſtitution, the United States in Congreſs aſſembled ſhould fix a day on which Electors ſhould be appointed by the States which ſhall have ratified the ſame, and a day on which*

which the Electors ſhould aſſemble to vote for the Preſident, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Conſtitution: That after ſuch publication the Electors ſhould be appointed, and the Senators and Repreſentatives elected: That the Electors ſhould meet on the day fixed for the Election of the Preſident, and ſhould tranſmit their votes certified, ſigned, ſealed and directed, as the Conſtitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled; that the Senators and Repreſentatives ſhould convene at the time and place aſſigned; that the Senators ſhould appoint a Preſident of the Senate, for the ſole purpoſe of receiving, opening and counting the votes for Preſident; and, that after he ſhall be choſen, the Congreſs, together with the Preſident, ſhould, without delay, proceed to execute this Conſtitution.

By the unanimous Order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident.

William Jackſon, Secretary.

In CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1787.

SIR,

WE have now the honor to ſubmit to the conſideration of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, that Conſtitution which has appeared to us the moſt adviſable.

The friends of our country have long ſeen and deſired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correſpondent executive and judicial authorities,

ſhould

ſhould be fully and effectually veſted in the general government of the Union: but the impropriety of delegating ſuch extenſive truſt to one body of men is evident—Hence reſults the neceſſity of a different organization.

It is obviouſly impracticable in the fœderal government of theſe States, to ſecure all rights of independent ſovereignty to each, and yet provide for the intereſt and ſafety of all.—Individuals entering into ſociety, muſt give up a ſhare of liberty to preſerve the reſt. The magnitude of the ſacrifice muſt depend as well on ſituation and circumſtance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with preciſion the line between thoſe rights which muſt be ſurrendered, and thoſe which may be reſerved; and on the preſent occaſion this difficulty was increaſed by a difference among the ſeveral States as to their ſituation, extent, habits, and particular intereſts.

In all our deliberations on this ſubject, we kept ſteadily in our view, that which appears to us the greateſt intereſt of every true American, the conſolidation of our Union, in which is involved our proſperity, felicity, ſafety, perhaps our national exiſtence. This important conſideration, ſeriouſly and deeply impreſſed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be leſs rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwiſe expected; and thus the Conſtitution, which we now preſent, is the reſult of a ſpirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and conceſſion which the peculiarity of our political ſituation rendered indiſpenſible.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected; but each will

will doubtleſs conſider, that had her intereſts been alone conſulted, the conſequences might have been particularly diſagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reaſonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the laſting welfare of that country ſo dear to us all, and ſecure her freedom and happineſs, is our moſt ardent wiſh.

With great reſpect,

We have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your Excellency's moſt obedient,

And humble ſervants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Preſident.

By unanimous Order of the Convention.

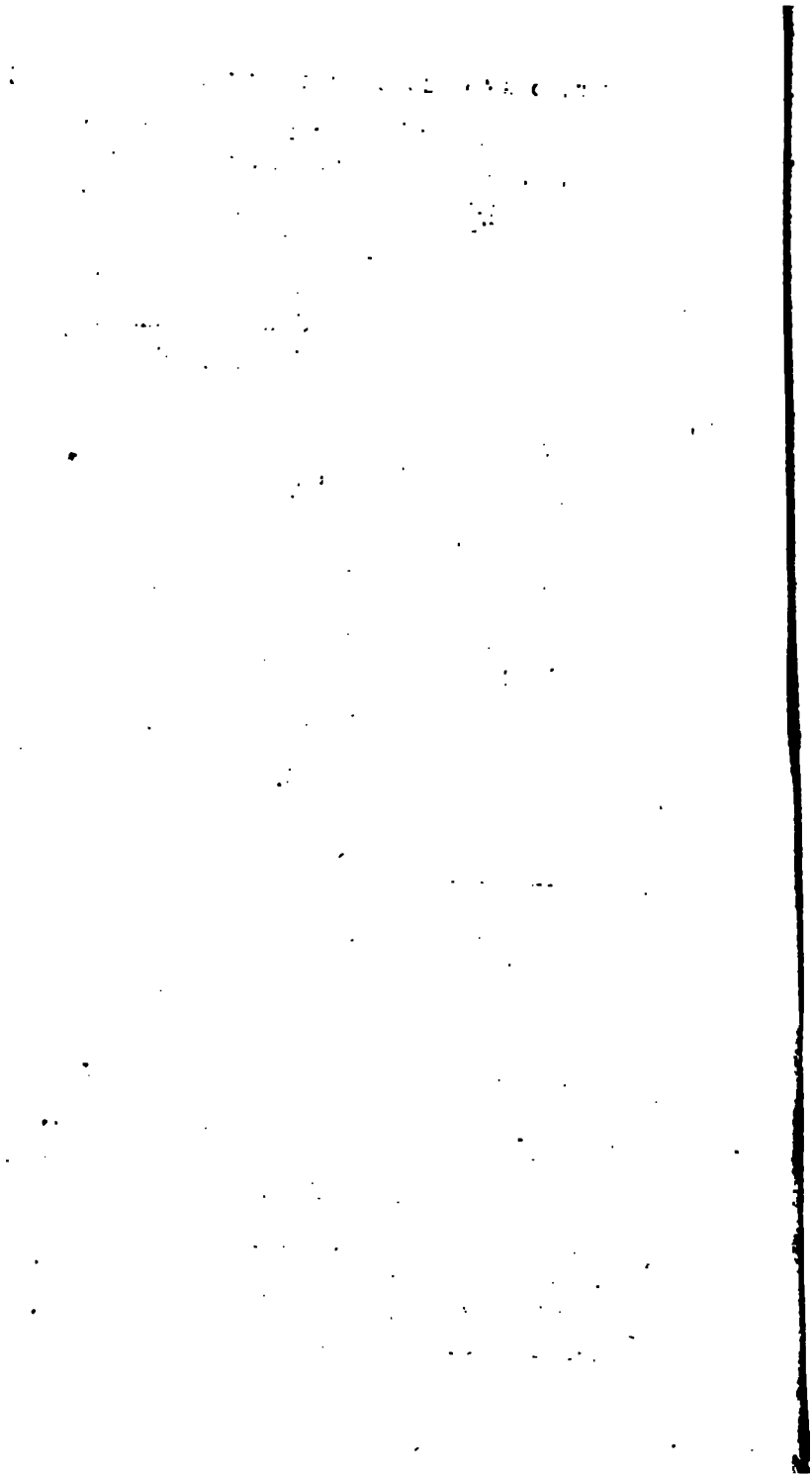
His Excellency the Preſident of Congreſs.

The conſtitution has been ratified by the conventions of more than nine ſtates.

THE END OF THE FOURTH AND LAST VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Page 17, line 14, *read* two three years. P. 72, l. 14, *read* Straits. P. 107, l. 10, *read* Phillips's. P. 116, l. 26, for 160 *read* 33. P. 164, l. 30, *read* who were. P. 267, l. 19, *read* 74 gun ſhips. P. 271, l. 4, *read* led. P. 324, l. 2, *read* manded. P. 340, l. 28, *read* of their. P. 347, l. 22, *read* were.



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